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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

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BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

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THE RT. HON. F. MAX MÜLLER

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VOL. XI

PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND
SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

PART II

THE DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNĪK AND THE EPISTLES
OF MÂNÛSKĪHAR

NEW YORK

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THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN
YAST, AND SHÂYAST
LÂ-SHÂYAST



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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

1. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

THOUGH we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity *ba h d i n â n*, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xlv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi *avistâk*, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of *â*, 'to,' + *vid*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. *zainti* (traceable in the word *âzaintis*), must be referred to the root *zan*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding¹.' European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

¹ See Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadian times, among the latest of which is one dated A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A. D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation¹ is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

¹ See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33-37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write *malkân malkâ*, 'king of kings,' but they would read *shâhân shâh*. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or âûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvârîdan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius¹,

¹ See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsolescence,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. *paiti-zañti*, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâris words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâris and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B. C. and second century A. D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A. D. 226-388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A. D. 388-651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâris has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâris in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâris, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâris logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâris and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâris portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

𐬀 a, â, h, kh. 𐬁 b. 𐬂 p, f. 𐬃 t, d. 𐬄 k, g, z, v. 𐬅 r,
 l. 𐬆 z. 𐬇 s, yî, yad, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad,
 gag, gag, gî, gad, gag, gag. 𐬈 sh, s, yâ, yah, yakh, ih, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, gâ, gah, gakh. 𐭩 gh. 𐭪 k.
 𐭫 m. 𐭬 n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. 𐭭 y, î, ê, d, g, g.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter 𐭭 s being exactly like the letter 𐭭 y doubled, and by the letter 𐭮 sh being identical with a compound of 𐭭 y and 𐭮 â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâris logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâris-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâris logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâris can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as *anhômâ* for *aûharmazd*, *yahân* for *yazdân*, *madônad* for *maînôk*, *shatan* for *shatrô*, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, d. 5. k, g, γ. 6. kh, h.
7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, s. 12. k. 13. g.
14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being
equivalent to Chaldee \aleph $\bar{\tau}$ and to Pahl. MS. -man¹.

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or g, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or g with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view²; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

¹ Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his *Beiträge*, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic \aleph , on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

² The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naq̄-i Raḡab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Onseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâi Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naq̄-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâḡîâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâi Kûli, which contains the name of Aû-harmazd I (A. D. 271-272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Ragab and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A. D. 275-283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A. D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A. D. 1323-1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Kopenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Kopenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A. D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the *Arđâ-Virâf-nâmak*, written in A. D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the *Khurdah Avesta*, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A. D.

636-651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahis, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahis.

3. THE BUNDAHIS.

The term Bundahis, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work¹ which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word *bûn-dahisn*, or *bûn-dahisnih*, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

¹ When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a *Saddar Bundahis*, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zaratûst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahis* either a translation, or an epitome, of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the *Bundahis* with those of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, which are detailed in the *Dîni-vagarkar* as follows¹:—‘It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the *K’invad* bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.’ Moreover, the *Dâmdâd Nask* is twice quoted as an authority in the *Selections of Zâd-spâram* (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the *Bundahis*.

The first manuscript of the *Bundahis* seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta* in 1771². This manuscript,

¹ See Hang’s *Essays*, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

² *Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343–422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A.D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851¹.

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1854², Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his *Traditional Literature of the Parsis*³, published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his *Zoroastrian Studies*⁴ in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

¹ *Bundeesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descriptis, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.*

² *Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundeesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.*

³ *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.*

⁴ *Zoroastriche Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.*

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868¹. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

¹ Der Bundeshesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88-129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20 b consists of nineteen loose folios¹, found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20 b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

¹ I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahis is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53-99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A.V. 766 (A.D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahis in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I-XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahis in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahis descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to ‘Arag river’), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to ‘and the evil spirit’), XII, 2 (from ‘*Sikidâv*’)—XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from ‘produced most for Khvanîras’)—XII, 2 (to ‘and Kôndras, Mount’), XXX, 32 (from ‘the renovation arises in’)—XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from ‘*Aîrak*’)—XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to ‘one from the other’).

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahis, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.V. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.V. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.¹; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to ‘would have known the secret’) and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahis, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.V. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223–227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahis in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

¹ This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned ; and we have also, in K2ob, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K2o ; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K2o to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII in Oct. 1878¹.

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahis which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahis, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the *Nîrangistân*. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahis, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm¹ Gûstâsp Ardâshir, who is known to have written another MS. dated A. Y. 1068 (A. D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A. Y. 1113 (A. D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner:— A valuable MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik*, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm² Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A. Y. 941 (A. D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A. Y. 900 (say A. D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them conformably with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist, and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows²:—

The propitiation of the creator Adhramâsh, the creator

¹ This Dastûr is said to have lived in the 17th century.

² The text of the first restored folio is as follows:—

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is well-thought, well-said, and well-done in thought, word, and deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels and terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.*

'Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrih) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified*¹ Spendyâd son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstôm, son of Shatrôyâr.

'The writing² of the Bûndahis *was set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînih) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân*³ orthodoxy (hû-dînôih) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and from dubious thinking of actions it draws words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.*

'On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâg) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but was not able.*'

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsih, 'that knowledge of tradition.' As the whole text of the Bundahis occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

¹ Literally, 'immortal-souled,' a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

² Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

³ The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

- *13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit; three lines.
- *14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (*agû-mêgîsn*); $\frac{1}{2}$ page.
- *15. On the species of those creations; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages.
16. On the nature of lands; $1\frac{1}{3}$ page; see Chap. XI.
17. On the nature of mountains; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages; see Chap. XII.
18. On the nature of seas; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages; see Chap. XIII.
19. On the nature of rivers; $5\frac{1}{3}$ pages; see Chaps. XX, XXI.
20. On the nature of lakes; $1\frac{1}{4}$ page; see Chap. XXII.
21. On the nature of the five classes of animals; $5\frac{1}{3}$ pages; see Chap. XIV.
22. On the nature of men; $7\frac{1}{2}$ pages; see Chap. XV¹.
23. On the nature of generation of every kind; 5 pages; see Chap. XVI.
24. On the nature of plants; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages; see Chap. XXVII.
25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages; see Chap. XXIV.
26. On the nature of fire; $4\frac{2}{3}$ pages; see Chap. XVII.
- *27. On the nature of sleep; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages.
- *28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain; $9\frac{2}{3}$ pages.
- *29. On the nature of noxious creatures; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages².
- *30. On the nature of the wolf species; 2 pages.
31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits³, and the opposition which came upon them; $7\frac{3}{4}$ pages; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.
32. On the religious year; 4 pages; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.
- *33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels; $17\frac{1}{2}$ pages.
34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

¹ TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

² Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

³ This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world¹;
7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions of the
earth; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *Kinvad* bridge *and* the souls of the departed;
 $5\frac{2}{3}$ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran,
the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages².

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening
to the country of Iran; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages³.

40. On the resurrection and future existence; $6\frac{2}{3}$ pages;
see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages,
as in Chaps. XXXI-XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; $2\frac{1}{4}$ pages;
see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K₂₀, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

¹ The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

² This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

³ Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahis is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of *Zâd-sparam* (see Appendix to the Bundahis), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls *Zâd-sparam*¹ one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to *Zâd-sparam*'s contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahis will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

¹ He writes the name *Zâd-sparham*.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment¹ of an old MS. of the Bundahis, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843-44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his *Zend-Avesta*, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahis text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

'[. . . Sâhm² was in those *reigns of Aûzôbô, Kavâd, and Mânûskîhar.*] Kai-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kai-Khûsrôbô sixty

¹ I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

² See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kai-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kai-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years¹. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast² the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêt khambârîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; and Vistâsp was king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

¹ Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâi, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi, son of Kîhar-âsâd, that is, of the daughter of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi, son of Dârâi, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman³ fourteen years.

² The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many⁴ years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians bear it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place⁵ [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now it is the Persian year 527]⁶.

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

¹ From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

² The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

³ Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâi.

⁴ Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not d it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of nava d, 'ninety.'

⁵ The words are, vad gînâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâsîkânô, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

⁶ The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for 'five and twenty-seven,' omitting that for 'hundred.' These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahîr at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A. D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahis in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahis may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahis many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahis could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD:—

‘And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakard he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakard did not prosper (*lâ sâkaftö*) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakard went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (*Anirânih*), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.’

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions ‘Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim,’ who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâd-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahis in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâdistân-i Dînik¹, and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâdistân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânûskîhar was

¹ It is quite possible that Mânûskîhar was also the reviser of the Bundahis; see the note on Dâdâkîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahis probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâd Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahis probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gujarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877¹. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr², and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139³. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

¹ *Bundeher ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sabruât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârine khapâwanâr*, Peshutan bin Rustam; *Mumbai*, 1877.

² There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrôk in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Néryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Aûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahis) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahîsn-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gujarâti translation.

³ This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named *Kamros*, of the bird named *Karsapad* and the hollow of *Vargamkard*, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are:—Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahis, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

In some manuscripts of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a *Rivâyat*. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal :—

Incantations for fever, &c. ; indications afforded by natural marks on the body ; about the *hamîstakân* ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven ; copy of an epistle¹ from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim*², which he addressed to the good people of *Sîrkân*³, about the decisions pronounced by Herbad *Zâd-sparam* son of *Yûdân-Yim* ; copy of a letter from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim* to his brother, Herbad *Zâd-sparam*, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from *Nîvshâpûhar* ; copy of a notice by Herbad *Mânûskîhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* and high-priest (*rad*) of *Pârs* and *Kîrmân*, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881) ; memoranda and writings called 'Selections of *Zâd-sparam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, together

¹ This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that *Nîshâpûhar* was in the council of *Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô*, king of kings and son of *Kavâd*, also that he was *Mobad* of *Mobads* and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the *Pahlavi Vend.* III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the *Nîrangistân* ; it is also a title applied to *Arâdâ-Vîrâf* (see *AV.* I, 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the *Pahlavi Vendidad*, and of the composition of the *Pahlavi Nîrangistân* and *Arâdâ-Vîrâf-nâmak* to the time of King *Khûsrô Nôshîrvân* (A. D. 531-579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A. D. 880.

² Some Parsis read this name *Gôshnajam*, others *Yûdân-dam*.

³ Mr. *Tehmuras Dinshawji* thinks this is the place now called *Sîrgan*, about thirty parasangs south of *Kîrmân*, on the road to *Bandar Abbâs*, which is no doubt the case.

Dâmdâd Nask' appears pretty evident from Zâd-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I-XVII of the Bundahis (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahûnavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthâs is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahis, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâdistân-i Dinik, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân¹ in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

¹ That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy¹ of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*.

Another MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

¹ The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35; the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K₃₅, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K₃₅ was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. THE BAHMAN YAST.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetic work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadađ, and Âstâđ Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Arđakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zarâtûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zarâtûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêzar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of Kînistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and Kîni (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon-races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshêdar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshêdar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Vargâvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (*Aš-i Dahâk*). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases *Aš-i Dahâk*, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâ mân, who rises from his trance and kills *Aš-i Dahâk* with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or *zand* of the Vohûman Yast admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title *zand* implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing Aôharmazd, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the Bahman Yast it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetic ages of the *Stûdgar Nask* in the first chapter of the Bahman Yast being different from that given in the *Dinkard*. The *Dinkard* quotes the *Stûdgar Nask* (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A. D. 309-379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A. D. 531-579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of *Gingîz Khân*, the great Mongol conqueror (A. D. 1206-1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs ; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this *Yast*, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details ; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of *Hûshêdar's* birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of *Hûshêdar*, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy ; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the *Bahman Yast*. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of *Zaratûst's* millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of *Hûshêdar* (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of *Zaratûst's* millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original *Avesta* writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of *Zaratûst's* millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of *Hûshêdar* to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when *Zaratûst's* millennium is ended ; on their appearance *Hûshêdar* is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) *Vâhrâm* the *Vargâvand* is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original *Pahlavi* translator and commentator who, writing about A. D. 570-590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm Kôpin, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshêdar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratûst's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A. D. 1193-1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Vargâvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshêdar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshêdar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshêdar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Yast the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahis; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K 20, is doubtful.

The Pázand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38-62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K 20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K 20 are supplied by these Pázand MSS. (see B. Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pázand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1-8, II, 17, 30-32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17-44, 58-63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pázand version is a complete contrast to the Pázand writings of Néryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pázand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Riváyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pázand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent. of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10-14 follow §§ 15-22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêzar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêzar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêzar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêzar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B 29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23-49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 128-135.

6. THE SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times¹, and has pro-

¹ But perhaps before the compilation of the prose *Sad-dar Bundahis*, or *Bundahis* of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words *shâyad*, 'it is fit or proper,' and *lâ shâyad*, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called *Rivâyats*, it has also been named the *Pahlavi Rivâyat*, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I-X and XI-XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20-23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the *Vendidad*. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33-35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the *Mazdayasnians*;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called *Shâyast na-shâyast*, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian *Rivâyats*, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the *Onseley* collection in the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects:—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.). Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of *Arđâ-Virâf* and the tale of *Gôst-i Fryânô*, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the *Shâyast-lâ-shâyast* was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, with its appendix¹, was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of *Afarg*, *Gôgôsrasp*, *Kûshtanô-bûgêd*, *Mêdôk-mâh*, *Rôshan*, and *Sôshyans*, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendidad* (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of *Marđ-bôd*, *Nêryôsang*, *Nôsâi Bûrš-Mitrô*, and *Vand-Aûharmazd*, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi *Vendidad*. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the *Vendidad*, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

¹ Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. X, 8), the *Bagh* (X, 26), the *Dâmdâd* (X, 22), the *Pâsôn* (IX, 9), the *Ratûs-tâitih* (X, 29), the *Kidrast* (X, 28), the *Spend* (X, 4), the *Nihâdûm* (X, 3, 22, 23), the *Dûbâsrûgêd* (X, 13), the *Hûspâram* (X, 21), and the *Sakâdûm* (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. XII, 32), the *Dâmdâd* (XII, 5, 15), the *Spend* (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the *Bâg-yasnô* (XII, 17), the *Nihâdûm* (XII, 15, 16), the *Hûspâram* (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the *Sakâdûm* (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the *Hâdökht* (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the *Bagh* and *Hâdökht*, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*. With regard to the rest we only know that the *Dâmdâd*, *Hûspâram*, and *Sakâdûm* must have been still in existence about A. D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of *Zâd-sparam* and *Mânûskîhar*, sons of *Yûdân-Yim*, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the *Nihâdûm* and *Hûspâram* are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the *Dinkard* gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the *Dinkard* seems to have assumed its present form about A. D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of *Khûsrô Nôshirvân* (A. D. 531-579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A. D. 636-651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the Shâ-yast lâ-shâ-yast was compiled some time in the seventh century: but, like the Bundahis and Bahman Yast, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator Bakht-âfrîz, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (see B. Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the Shâ-yast lâ-shâ-yast and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV-XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the Patit-i Khûd; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4-17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126-133):—Chaps. XX, 14-16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4-14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language¹, nor

¹ Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore ; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahis and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yast, which professes to be prophetic, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia ; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the *Bundahis* does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32-34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of *Zâd-sparam* (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature *Zôrvân* (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing¹ is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

¹ Bleeck's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as *Tanâpûhar*, *Frasast*, *Gêti-kharîd*, *Dvâsdah-hômâst*, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—*Âfrîn*, 'blessing;' *aharmôk*, 'apostate, heretic;' *aharûbô*, 'righteous;' *aharûbô-dâd*, 'alms, almsgiving;' *akdînô*, 'infidel;' *ameshôspend*, 'archangel;' *armêst*, 'helpless;' *ast-hômand*, 'material;' *aûsôfrîd*, 'propitiation, offering;' *baghô-bakhtô*, 'divine providence;' *baresôm*, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-gûyisnih, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drûg, 'fiend;' frashakard, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravarđikân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk mainôk, 'evil spirit;' garšisn, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' gasnô, 'feast;' gâûs-dâk (Av. gâus hudhau), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' gaviđ-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' giv (Av. gâus givya), 'sacred milk;' gômês, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrêđ, 'direct pollution, contagion;' hazârak, 'millennium;' hikhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvétûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstik, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' mainôk, 'spirit;' marg-argân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâi, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâi katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâyisn, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâđiyâvîh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paitrêđ, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parik, 'witch;' patitîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patiyârak, 'adversary;' pôryôđkêshîh, 'primitive faith;' rad, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' ristâkhês, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' sêdâ, 'demon;' shapik, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyisn, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk mainôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasinô, 'future existence;' tôgisn, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâđ, 'primeval ox;' vâg, 'inward prayer;' vigârisn, 'atonement for sin;' vishâđ-dûbârisnih, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' yast, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' yastanô, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' yasisn,

'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer; 'yêdatô, 'angel; 'zand, 'commentary; 'zôhar or zôr, 'holy-water; 'zôt, 'officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters *y* for *v* and *S* for *z*, the Pahlavi letter *ç* is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters *l* and *r* would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written *l*, but in a few words they are represented by *y* or by *S*, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS
OR
THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hw* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *ŋ* like *ng*, *s* like *sh*, *z* like French *j*. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final *ö* are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta. *Dâd.* for *Dâdî-stân-i Dînik*. Huz. for *Huzvâris*. Mkh. for *Mainyô-i-khar'd*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for *Pâzand*. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for *Vendîdâd*, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for *Visparad*, ed. Sp. Yas. for *Yasna*, ed. Sp. Yt. for *Yast*, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are :—

K₂₀ (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

K_{20b} (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M₆ (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

BUNDAHIS.

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')¹, which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit², and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-i pasîno). 2. As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

¹ The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word *min*, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

² The Avesta *Angra-mainyu*, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 92-95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read *Ganrâk-maîno*k, as the Avesta *Spenta-mainyu*, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become *Spênâk-maîno*k in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahis. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read *madônad* by the Parsis, and has been pronounced *mînavad* by some scholars and *mîno*î by others, is probably a corruption of *maîno*k, as its Sasanian form was *minô*. If it were not for the extra medial letter in *ganrâk*, and for the obvious partial transliteration of *spênâk*, it would be preferable to read *ganâk*, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb *gandan*, 'to smite' (Av. *ghna*), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest *gandan*, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled¹ in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience and goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation².'

3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time³, because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; *while* Aharman⁴ in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

¹ Reading aham-kaf, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

² The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

³ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

⁴ The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when¹ the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking² and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

¹ Substituting *amat*, 'when,' for *mûn*, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, *ka* and *ke*, are nearly alike.

² Reading *amîndâr* in accordance with M6, which has *amîndâr* in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read *amûtâr*, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, *fravashis*, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (*bûrzišnîk*).

12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (*vâyah*), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge¹ of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, and spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus²: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

¹ The Huz. *khavîtnast* stands for the Pâz. *dânist* with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

² Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him¹, therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act *so* that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away² from the creatures.

¹ The words *dên val* stand for *dên valman*.

² That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.¹ once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words²; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

¹ This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd kîd hakâ,
 Vangheus dazdâ mananghô, skyaothnanâm anghêus mazdâi,
 Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadad vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

² The word mârik must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion¹.

23. Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created² Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure³, produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar^d)⁴ which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ardava-

¹ This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

² It is usual to consider dâdan (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ=Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

³ Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1-5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

⁴ The word frashakar^d, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

hist, and then Shatvairô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvadađ, and then Amerôdađ¹.

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêđ, and then Tâirêv and Zâirîk².

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

CHAPTER II.

o. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations³, then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

¹ These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahista, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spenta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâđ, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâđ, 'immortality.'

² These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' Îndra, Sauru, Nangunhaithya, Tauru, Zairîka (see Vendîdâđ X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, Sarva (a name of Siva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and garas, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7-13.

³ The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalakang (the Crab), Sêr (the Lion), Khûsak (Virgo), Tarâzûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nimâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk¹ (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers², of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parviz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Besn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garafsa, Varant, Gau, Goi, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht³. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

¹ Written Nahâsfk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâsfk in Pahlavi.

² Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khurđak-i hâmarîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

³ All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra Krîttikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra Arvinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them¹; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tistar is the chieftain of the east, Satavês the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-ring the chieftain of the north². 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap.VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

¹ That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

² Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tistar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tistar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Raptvîn¹.

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Tistrya, Satavaêsa, Vanant, and Haptôirînga (see Tîstar Yt. 0, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26-28, Sirôz. 3).

¹ This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word *mas* be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word *khômsâk* is an irregular form of the Huz. *khômsyâ*, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Raptvîn is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Raptvîn Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about *v.c.* 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Raptvîn Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7-14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Raptvîn.'

9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *cere-
mony* with the archangels (ameshôspendân) in the
Rapitvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every
means necessary for overcoming the adversary¹.
10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd)
and guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men², and the
omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men,
spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advanta-
geous, when³ I shall present you to the world? *that*
you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend
(drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end
I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and im-
mortal, and in the end give you back to the world,
and you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and
undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to pro-
vide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men be-
came of the same opinion with the omniscient wis-
dom about going to the world, on account of the
evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the
fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last,
again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and
immortal, in the future existence, for ever and ever-
lasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand
MSS. in reading hômsak (as a variant of hamfsak), 'always,'
instead of khômsâk.

¹ Or 'adversity.'

² These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap.
I, 8).

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to
Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate¹ (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man², became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends³ of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked Gêh⁴ came, at the completion of the three thousand years.

4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

¹ The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, 'trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

² Probably Gâyômarz.

³ The word kamârakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârikân.

⁴ The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked *Gêh* shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation¹ on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (*nismô*)²; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of *Aûharmazd*, I *will* make the whole creation of *Aûharmazd* vexed.'

7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *Gêh* upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *Gêh*.

8. He shouted to *Gêh* thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *Gêh* shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (*vazak*) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *Gêh*, and that brought the thoughts of *Gêh* to him³.

¹ The word *vêsh* or *vîsh* may stand either for *bêsh*, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for *vîsh*, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the *Pâz. MSS.*

² That this is the *Huzvâris* of *rûbân*, 'soul,' appears from *Chap. XV, 3-5*, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the *Huz.-Pâz. Glossary*. It is evidently equivalent to *Chald. nismâ*, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation *nisman*, an abbreviation of *nîsmman*.

³ This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by *Chap. XXVIII, 1*, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *Gêh* out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 745-765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third¹ of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravardîn and the day Aûhar-mazd² he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged³ below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômarđ, and then he came to fire⁴; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark⁵ at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight⁶ was diffused by him over the

¹ Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is over-spread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

² The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

³ Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

⁴ For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI-X.

⁵ Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangîđtûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

⁶ The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâris logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômarđ.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit¹, which some call 'binâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zanisn) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômarđ, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômarđ, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâg) of one stanza (vikast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômarđ issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion, *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâznikân demons², was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

¹ The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

² The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômarđ; and Astô-vidâd¹ with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômarđ.

22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vidâd) obtained no means of noosing (âvizî-danö) *him*; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyômarđ was appointed for thirty years.

23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyômarđ spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it.

25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it*.

26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth² and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

¹ The demon of death, Astô-vidhōtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137. V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihād by Pāzand writers.

² See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox¹ passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômarđ afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand.

2. Gôsûrvan², as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man³ of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill⁴, O Gôsûrvan! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

¹ Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômarđ. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

² The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called *Geus-urvâ*, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gôsûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gôsûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

³ Referring to Zaratûst.

⁴ In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsr̥van walked to the star station (pâyak) and cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station and cried in the same manner, and forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, and *Aûharmazd* said thus¹: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsr̥van, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations², as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavês, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar³

¹ As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôs, who is identified with Gôsr̥van, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahîs).

² Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

³ As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare *vehrkô-kîthra* in *Ardabahist Yast* 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar¹, provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz² it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak³, which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat⁴ around the world; it turns back in a circuit⁵ owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again⁶. 5. For there are a hundred

or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-kîhar (Av. ga-o-kîthra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound *rê*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-kîhar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

¹ This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

² The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

³ The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

⁴ The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

⁵ The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

⁶ This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; and the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture¹; and the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)² and a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack³, when⁴ it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalatang (Cancer) the time of day is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahik (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

¹ This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

² See § 9 and Chap. XI.

³ The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;' Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;' and in the Selections of Zâd-spâram it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days¹, it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst². 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradadafsh, Vidadafsh, and half of Khvanîras³; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

¹ The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albârz, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

² This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

³ Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict¹ of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence², wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (*fravâhar*) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (*ângunt-aitak*) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation *of the universe* for ever and everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tistar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak³ was

¹ This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

² Reading *zôrîh*; but it may be *zûrîh*, 'falsity.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tistar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (*âvârak*) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month¹ of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull²; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance³, and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth⁴.

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

¹ See Chap. XXV, 20.

² See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

³ Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

⁴ In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth,

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (*gûmikht*), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed¹ ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tistar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs².

8. And Apâôsh³, the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (*kund*) hoofs; a mile (*parasang*)⁴ away from him fled Tistar, through the fright which drove *him* away.

9. And Tistar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tistar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers⁵.

10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-shot with Tistar's strength in the sense of a mile.

¹ The term *farâkhû-kard*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. *vouru-kasha*, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

² For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tistar, see Tistar Yt. 20-29.

³ Miswritten *Apavs* or *Apavas* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

⁴ The word *parasang* is here used for Av. *hâthra*, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

⁵ A quotation from Tistar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (*khûmb*)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bulls' heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons *Aspengargâk*¹ *and* *Apâôsh* contended *with it*, and the fire *Vâzist*² turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club *Aspengargâk* made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging³ are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas⁴ arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*kashmak*) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kêkast* lake, and one the *Sôvbar*⁵, whose sources are connected with the

¹ Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire *Vâzista*, the smiter of the demon *Spengaghra*.' It is also written *Spêngargâk* in Chap. XVII, 1, and *Aspengarôgâ* in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

² That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

³ Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' *Justi* has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

⁴ See Chap. XIII, 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 1-3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side¹ two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen² navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag³ river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârih) of the world *arises* therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

o. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook⁴, *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

¹ Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûrz, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

² See Chap. XX, 2.

³ Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

⁴ The word *gudnîd* is a transposition of *gundîd*, a graphical variant of *gunbîd*, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (kôfânihâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root¹ to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (ânguni-aitak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers², apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years³, from which *arises* the perfection⁴ of men's advantage.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when⁵ they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

¹ M6 has račâk, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

² Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word amar meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

³ See Chap. XII, 1.

⁴ The word must be farhâkhtagân, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as farhâkhtisn is an ungrammatical form.

⁵ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tistar seized, and Tistar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand¹ of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species² of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs³ was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard tree⁴ was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspad) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

0. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away⁵, owing to the vegetable principle (*kîharak*) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain⁶ *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

¹ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

² Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâd-sparam, VIII, 2.

³ Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

⁴ The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1-6, XXVII, 4).

⁵ See Chap. IV, 1. ⁶ See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkhmih) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station¹, that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind² became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mântst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

CHAPTER XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds³ of land. 2. *On* the day when Tistar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion⁴, as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

¹ See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 0, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

² That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

³ K20b has thirty-two kinds.'

⁴ That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is ε.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)¹; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, on the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrubarst and Vôrugarst regions, and that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; and from Vôrubarst and Vôrugarst a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region².

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)³ which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans⁴ is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection and future existence.

¹ Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

² In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khard, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

³ So in M6; but K20 has zadârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

⁴ Always spelt so in the Bundahis MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyâs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light¹. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty², Têrak of Albûrz, *Kakâd-i-Dâtik*, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsindôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount *Zarid* also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount *Airak*, Mount *Kaf*, Mount *Vâdgês*, Mount *Aûshdâstâr*, Mount *Arezûr-bûm*, Mount *Rôyish-hômand*, Mount *Padashkhvârgar* which is the greatest in *Khvârih*, the mountain which they call *Kinö*, Mount *Rêvand*, Mount *Dârspêt* the *Bakyir* mountain, Mount *Kabed-sikaft*, Mount *Sîyâk-mûmand*, Mount *Vafar-hômand*, Mount *Spendyâd* *and* *Kôndrâsp*, Mount *Asnavand* *and* *Kôndras*, Mount

¹ These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

² In all the geographical details, mentioned in the *Bundahis*, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the *Avesta*, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the *Zamyâd Yast*, or in other parts of the *Avesta*, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that *Yast*. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in *Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 1-19.

*Si'idâv*¹, a mountain among those which are in *Kangdez*², of which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; *Albûrz*³ is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The *Têrak*⁴ of *Albûrz* is that through which the stars, moon, and sun pass⁵ in, and through it they come back. 5. *Hûgar* the lofty⁶ is that from which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr*⁷ leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The *Aûsindôm*⁸ mountain is that which, being of ruby

¹ The Av. *Si'idava* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 5.

² See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written *Kandez* in K20. In M6 the word is *kôf*, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. *Axtare-kangha*, 'within *Kangha*,' of *Zamyâd Yt.* 4.

³ The *Haraiti-bares* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 1; but it is more usually called *Hara berezaiti* (see Chap. V, 3).

⁴ A central peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. *Taêra*, mentioned in *Yas.* XLI, 24, *Râm Yt.* 7, *Zamyâd Yt.* 6.

⁵ So in M6, but K20 has 'go in.'

⁶ This appears to be another peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, probably in the west, as it is connected with *Satavês*, the western chief-tain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. *Hukairyâ berezô*, of *Yas.* LXIV, 14, *Âbân Yt.* 3, 25, 96, *Gôs Yt.* 8, *Mihir Yt.* 88, *Rashnu Yt.* 24, *Fravardîn Yt.* 6, *Râm Yt.* 15.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 3-5.

⁸ In *Aûharmazd Yt.* 31 and *Zamyâd Yt.* 2, 66, an *Ushidhâo* mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the *Ushidarena* mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the *Hindva* mountain, given in *Tistar Yt.* 32, thus: *us Hindva d' paiti garôid' yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghô vouru-kashahê*, 'up on the *Hindva* mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(*khûn-âhinö*), of the substance of the sky¹, is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from *Hûgar*, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *Kakâd-i-Dâitîk* ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *Kinvar* bridge² stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The *Arezûr*³ ridge [of the *Albûrz* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the course of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting *Albûrz*, the *Apârsên*⁴ mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, *Aûsîndôm*, has probably arisen from the *us Hindvad* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

¹ The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

² The *Kinvatô-peretu* of the Avesta, mentioned even in the *Gâthas*. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *Kinvađ* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *Kakâd-i-Dâitîk*, and one at *Albûrz*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over *Albûrz* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

³ See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing *Arezûr* to be the extreme northern range of the mythic *Albûrz* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

⁴ Justi adopts the reading *Harpârsên*, which occurs in *K20* four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *skyata* (or *iskatâ*) *upairi-saêna* of Yas. X, 29, and *Zamyâd Yt.* 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the *Yasna* explains as 'the *Pârsên* crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apársên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân¹ and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs² is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârih) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains³. 12. Mount Airak⁴ is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apársên. 13. Mount [Kîñö]⁵, which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apársên. 14. Mount Kaf⁶ has grown from the same Mount Apársên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apársên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-sparam, VII, 7, have Kînistân for Khûgîstân.

¹ This name can also be read Sistân.

² In § 2 it is also called Zarið, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhō and Aredhō-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

³ That is, around the ranges of Albûrs, Apársên, and Mânûs.

⁴ Perhaps intended for the Erezishō of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nfsâpûr.

⁵ This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kînistân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîñ, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabari's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

⁶ Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyað of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakō pârâyað, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ¹ is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr² is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padash-khvârgar³ mountain is that which is in Taparistân and the side of Gilân. 18. The Rêvand⁴ mountain is in Khûrâsân⁵, on which the Bûrzn fire⁶ was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês⁷ mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakyr⁸ mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it*; and *in* the days of Yim⁹ a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kâbed-sikaft¹⁰ ('very rugged')

¹ The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

² Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

⁴ The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

⁵ Or, 'the east.'

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 8.

⁷ The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

⁸ In § 2 it is Bakyr, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

⁹ K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and *in* our days Shatrô-râm (or râmîsn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

¹⁰ Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Siyâk-hômand ('being black') and Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')¹, as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of Kîñö. 23. The Spend-yâd² mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand³. 24. The Kôndrâsp⁴ mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar⁵, is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs⁶ mountain is in Airân-vêg. 26. The Asnavand⁷ mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyisn-hômand⁸ ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever⁹ mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts and various

¹ The Av. Syâmaka and Vafrayau of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Siyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to Kîñö, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Siyâk-mûf-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Siyâk-hômand.

² The Av. Spentô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

³ The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

⁴ The Av. Kaduva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

⁶ If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôirâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaorisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

⁷ The Av. Asnavau of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

⁸ The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

⁹ So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarin, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Migîn, *and* Mount Marak¹, which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad² mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand³ mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs⁴, *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help')—that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp—is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain')⁵, *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

¹ This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

² This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânađ, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

³ See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

⁴ The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

⁵ The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad¹ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)² at the abode of the Bûrân-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan³ is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call it Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg⁴ is established from the country of Lake Kêkast⁵ unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak⁶ is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkîstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan⁷ is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz⁸, *and* so

¹ The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

² Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

³ Probably in Kirmân.

⁴ The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 2.

⁶ Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

⁷ The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

⁸ Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvivsûr¹, *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind², some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days³, which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvivsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty⁴; on the summit of that mountain is a lake⁵; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsindôm⁶ amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

¹ The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

² Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râî, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

³ Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁵ Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

⁶ See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtik, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtik¹ is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtik side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês². 10. Thick and salt the stench³ wishes to go from the sea Pûtik to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed ocean and the source Arêdvivsûr; *and* that flows back a second time to Pûtik⁴. 11. The control⁵ of this sea (the Pûtik) is connected with the

¹ The Av. Pûtika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

² So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtik into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtik stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satâves through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

³ Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtik.'

⁵ Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitiveness.'

moon and wind ; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control¹ also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng². 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavês, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught ; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb³. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd⁴ is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparistân ; that of Saht-bûn⁵ is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

¹ See p. 43, note 5.

² See Chap. II, 7.

³ This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that ~~the~~ wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf ; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on ~~the~~ position of the moon.

⁴ Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparistân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

⁵ Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them ; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some¹ was the sea Kyânsih², such as is in Sagastân; at first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in it, and the water was sweeter than in any of the other seas; later (dadîgar) it became salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation of the universe occurs it will again become sweet³.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away⁴, there where the marrow came out grain grew up⁵ of fifty and five species, and twelve⁶ species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow⁷. 2. From the horns arose peas (mîgûk),

¹ Comparing nîstûm with Pers. nîst, 'healthy.'

² The Av. Kâsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

³ The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX-XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

⁴ See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

⁵ All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lâlâ, 'up.'

⁶ K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

⁷ K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grape-vine¹ from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart² thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station³; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals⁴. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Airân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')⁵; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (karđak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

¹ Probably kađûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

² Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sarđak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhō, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. 0, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

⁵ Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâi); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)¹, which are wide-travellers, and habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûinak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, and *is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small and new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift² horse is the largest, and the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, and the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures³ is the largest, and the chaffinch⁴ the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish⁵ is the largest, and the Nemadu⁶ the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

¹ Justi reads *gîrîsak*, the Av. *gairishâkô*, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

² Pahl. *zibâl* = Pers. *zibâl*.

³ The Pâz. *sin-i se avinâ* is the Pahl. *sên-i 3 khadûinak* of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the *Sin* bird or *Simurgh* of Persian legends, the Av. *saêna*. The word *avinâ* is a Pâz. misreading either of *âfnak*, 'kind, sort,' or of *anganâk*, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

⁴ Reading *va taru* (Pers. *tar*).

⁵ See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

⁶ If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read *va magan*, which may stand for *va magil*, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two¹ species (*sardak*). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat², the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a *grandeur*³ like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (*bâra*), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured⁴, red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing⁵ ox, the Fars ox, the Kagau, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule⁶, the ass, the wild ass (*gôr*), the hippopotamus (*asp-i âvi*), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁷, the water-

¹ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

² The *khar-bûz* (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

³ Supposing *se koh* to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. *sukûh* — Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

⁴ Pâz. *ashgun* is evidently for Pahl. *hasgûn*.

⁵ Transcribing the Pâz. *mâhi khu ushân* into Pahlavi it may be read *mâhîkân-khvasân* (*khashân?*).

⁶ Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

⁷ These first four species are the Av. *pasus-haurvô*, *vis-haurvô*, *vôhunazgô*, and *taurunô* of Vend. V, 92-98, XIII, 21, 26-74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver¹ which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine², and the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed³ to burrows, one the fox and one the ichneumon; and those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, and the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black⁴ hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow⁵ and one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine⁶, the white ermine, and other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk animals; one is that which is recognised by *its* musk⁷, one

¹ The Av. bawris upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

² The word *indra* has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read *andra*. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread *indra*, and its meaning suits the context better.

³ The Pâz. âmokhtesn, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

⁴ K₂₀ has seyâ, M₆ has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into *khar-gôsh*, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

⁵ Reading *khan-mânist*, the Pâz. *khu* being an obvious misreading of *khan*.

⁶ The Pâz. *bez* is written *bedh* in the Pâzand MS. (the *z* in M₆ being shaped something like *dh*), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic *abyadh* or *baîdhâ*, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. *sapêd*, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that *bez* represents the Pers. *bîgâd*, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

⁷ Or, 'is known as the musk animal.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk¹ which eats the Bis-herb, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâi) such as the griffon bird², the Karsipt³, the eagle, the Kahrkâs⁴ which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth⁵ is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal*; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûinak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh⁶, fish were created of ten

¹ A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Nappellus Moysis.

² Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurg of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

³ See Chap. XIX, 16.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 25.

⁵ Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâd-spam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

⁶ All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz¹, the Arzuvâ, the Arzükâ, the Marzükâ, and other Avesta names².
27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species³.

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-ring, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)⁴ than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, and as associating with sheep and men; for this the dog is purposely adapted⁵, as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than to man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing⁶, and may wander about without self-exertion.
29. The twelfth⁷ is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

¹ See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

² None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

³ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

⁴ A yôgist (compare Sans. yôgana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

⁵ Reading âhang-hôm and, 'having a purpose.'

⁶ Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

⁷ All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha¹ was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite² with the body of a Varpa³, by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

CHAPTER XV.

I. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômarđ, in passing away⁴, gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

¹ No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâsah or bâsah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

² Compare gûrik with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

³ Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varîkak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurîkah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

⁴ See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang¹ kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad² received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rivâs-plant³, and the fifteen years of its fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô⁴ grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away⁵. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

¹ Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

² The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

³ A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

⁴ These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh *and* Matrôyâôîh, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômarô I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

⁵ That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;’ hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man¹.

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôi thus: ‘You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion² by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!’ 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed³ themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness⁴. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

¹ This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

² This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, ‘the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).’

³ Comparing *mêgîd* with Pers. *magîd*; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, ‘they feasted themselves,’ or ‘they made water.’

⁴ The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi *Hâdôkht Nask*, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *aforsaid*. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food ¹, covered with clothing of herbage (*giyâh*); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk *Mâshya said* to *Mâshyôit* thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.'

12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat ² *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it*; and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum ³ and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

¹ Reading *akhûrisn* instead of the *khûrisn* of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps *âv-khûrisn*, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

² Comparing *gefar* with Av. *garewa* and Pers. *garb*, but this identification may not be correct.

³ The *kûnâr*, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, *kendâr*, lotos, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire¹.' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven² in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge³ from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (*pês-khûr*).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks⁴. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

¹ Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Reading *khês-i tađ*, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread *ashâbê tad*, as given in Pâzand in the text. That *Pâz-tadha* stands for Pahl. *tađak* (Pers. *tadah*, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

³ Or 'an axe,' according as we read *têkh* or *tash*. The order of the foregoing words, *barâ tapâk-i*, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

⁴ Reading *rôd* as equivalent to Pers. *rûf*, 'face,' but it ought to be *rôd*. Perhaps the word is *lût*, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus: 'You are man; worship the demon! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, and poured it out towards the northern quarter; through that the demons became more powerful, and owing to them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first in Mâshya and then in Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus: 'Brother Mâshya! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated¹.' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female; and owing to tenderness for offspring² the mother devoured one, and the father one.

23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that one may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male and

¹ This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

² Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînik (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows: Maharîh va Mahariyâôyîh dûshâram râi nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. Of those seven pairs one was Siyâkmaq, the name of the man, and Nasâk¹ of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkain of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (*sardak*); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (*zâyisn*) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok², through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (*kêshvar*), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvaniras. 28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went *to* the plain of the Tâzikân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang³ was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Airânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns⁴ have arisen. 29. Among the number (*pavan aê mar*) were those who are in the coun-

¹ Or 'Varâk.'

² See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

³ Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôs Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is *paradhâta* (Pahl. *pêš-dâd*), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (*pêš-dâdîh*) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêšdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

⁴ The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk¹, those who are in the country of Anêr², those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is Kînistân, those who are in the country of Dâi³, and those who are in the country of Sind⁴. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, *son* of Styâkmaq, *son of* Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man⁵, and fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyôpard; *the varieties are such as those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, and who have hair on the body⁶.

¹ Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrik of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

² Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

³ The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâi are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with Kînistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount Kînô (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâi must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

⁴ Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

⁵ Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

⁶ Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

CHAPTER XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (*hasgûn*). 5. All¹ the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

¹ M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish¹ it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang², the fire which shoots up before Aû-harmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân³, the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist⁴, the fire which is in plants; the fire

¹ K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

² These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63-67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-sparam, XI, 1.

³ 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

⁴ 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist¹, the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist², the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm³. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which⁴ Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup⁵, when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok⁶, from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

¹ 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spêngargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

² 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

³ The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

⁴ M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

⁵ The second Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

⁶ Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon¹ the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea.

5. And in the reign of Yim² every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak³ was established by him at the appointed place (*dâd-gâs*) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem⁴, which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk⁵.

6 In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion⁶, it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kai-Khûsrôb⁷, continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*⁸; and when Kai-Khûsrôb⁷ was

¹ Compare *stâft* with Pers. *sitâftan*, 'to hasten.'

² The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

³ Also written Frôbbô, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

⁴ The Av. *Hvârizem* of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

⁵ It is doubtful whether *va gadman*, 'and the glory,' or *nismô*, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

⁷ Here written Kai-Khûsrôbî.

⁸ In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*¹ it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire *Gûsasp* was established at the appointed place on the *Asnavand* mountain².

8. The fire *Bûrzîn-Mitrô*, until the reign of King *Vistâsp*, ever assisted³, *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified⁴ *Zaratûst* was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King *Vistâsp* and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God⁵, *and* *Vistâsp* established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount *Rêvand*, where they say the Ridge of *Vistâsp* (*pûst-i Vistâspân*) is⁶.

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of *Vâhrâm*, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-world settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires *Frôbak*, *Gûsasp*, and *Bûrzîn-Mitrô* respectively.

¹ That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

² See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of *Zâd-sparam*, VI, 22.

³ Taking *vagîd* as equivalent to Pers. *guzîd*; but it may be equivalent to Pers. *vazîd*, 'grew, shot up.'

⁴ The epithet *anôshak-rûbân* (Pers. *nôshirvân*) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

⁵ Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

⁶ See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkard¹ it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkard grew in the deep mud² within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard³ as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm⁴. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish⁵ which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed⁶, that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

¹ A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahis the form gôkard occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

² Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

³ That the writer of the Bundahis applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

⁴ That is, the Gôkard tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

⁵ The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

⁶ Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz¹ of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aôharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits* has entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân². 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like³ in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlisn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move⁴ the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing⁵.

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

² The Av. vâsîm yâm pankâsadvarâm of Yas. XLI, 27-

³ Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mârâ
âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

⁴ K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

⁵ This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in
Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three
titles, hubis, eredhwô-bis, and vîspô-bis. See also Chap.
XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between¹ these trees of such kinds² is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand.
11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there³.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass⁴ they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths⁵ nine, ears two, and horn

¹ This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. *dên* (*bên* in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of *Pâz. andar*, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-*Hôm* tree and the tree of many seeds.

² Transcribing the *Pâz. oînoh* into Pahlavi we have *ân-gûnak*, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of *Pâz. ânô*, 'there.'

³ This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the *Âhîsîndôm* mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

⁴ The Av. *khara*, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his *Ormazd et Ahriman* (pp. 148-151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess *Anâhita* was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

⁵ This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump¹; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand². 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (*gird*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pasture³ is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns⁴ have grown upon it, some befitting⁵ a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

meaning be correct) ought probably to be read *yông*, and be traced to Av. *eeauŋh* (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced *gûnd*, which means 'a testicle.'

¹ The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

² Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. *Aurvantô* of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read *Hunavand*.

³ Literally, 'the small of the foot,' *khûrdak-i ragelman*.

⁴ Or, 'a thousand cavities (*srûbô*, Pers. *surub*, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

⁵ Reading *ziyâk*; compare Pers. *ziyîdan*, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When the *amrita* is set in the ocean its ears will *trill*, and all the water of the wide-furrowed sea will shake with agitation, and the side of *Amrita* will tremble (*shivanéd*).

9. When it moves several kinds of water-creatures, of the creatures of *Amrita* will become pregnant; and all pregnant water-creatures, when they *hear* this cry will cast their young.

10. When it rises in the ocean all the sea-water will become *poison*, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*and* even on that account when all asses which *drink* water *stand* in the water—*as* it says that: "If (O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into it; water through the death of the creatures of *Amrita*!"

11. Thus rises the water more completely in the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (*ambarisid*) it is declared that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then *it* is more of the liquid nourishment *goes* into the *vine* pertaining to the body into the *amara* dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox *Har* (the *Har* all *Sar* *saok**, it says, the *Har* *saok* men passed from *Har* *saok*, and in the

* A noun.

* See *Ch.*

* *W.*

and all? cheap,
but the

renovation of the universe they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of his years¹, who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation of the universe is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *Kâm rôs*² it says, that *it* is on the summit of Mount Albûrz; and every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (*gir d*)³, by going to bring damage (*ztyân*) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel *Bûrg*⁴, having come up from the low country of Lake Arag⁵, arouses that very bird *Kâm rôs*, and it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, and picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird does corn.

16. Regarding *Karsipt*⁶ they say, that it knew how to speak words, and brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated *it*; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

¹ Transcribing the Pâz. *svadyi* into Pahlavi we have *snatîh*, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

² Written *Kâm rôs* in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *Kamraos* (gen. of *Kamru*) of Fravardin Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

³ Or, 'to an assembly.'

⁴ The Av. *Beregya* of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the *Ushahina Gâh*, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

⁵ Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent *Rangha* are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in *Bahrâm Yt.* 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

⁶ The Av. *vis karsipta* of Vend. II, 139, where, however, *vis*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird¹, which is a bat, is noticed (*kard*) twice in another chapter (*babâ*).

19. Regarding the bird *Ashôzust*², which is the bird *Zobara*³-*vahman* and also the bird *Sôk*⁴, they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it and take nothing away there; a *nail-paring*, when it is not prayed over (*afsrûd*), the demons and wizards seize, and like an arrow it shoots at and kills that bird.

20. On this account the bird seizes and devours a *nail-paring* when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, and the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds and beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, &c.⁵ 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious⁶ birds the crow (*valâgh*) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the *Karsipt* is the chief of flying creatures,' and the *Bundahis* also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

² The Av. *Ashô-zusta* of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

³ Compare Pers. *sûlah*, 'a sparrow or lark.'

⁴ Compare Pers. *sak*, 'a magpie.'

⁵ This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

⁶ The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read *zîl*, 'cheap, common,' or it may be *zagar* = *yakar*, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (*kâskînak*) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The *Kahrkâs*¹, dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (*nasât*); so also are the crow (*valâk*)² and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon *Khava*; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (*garzak*) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition³ to ravenous intestinal worms (*kadûk-dânak garzak*). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain⁴, as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. *arzân* is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

¹ The Av. *kahrkâsa* of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, *Âbân* Yt. 61, *Mihir* Yt. 129; its epithet *zarmân-mânîsn*, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. *zarenumainis*, applied to it in *Bahrâm* Yt. 33, *Dîn* Yt. 13.

² The text should probably be *valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar*, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in *Shâyast-lâ-shâyast*, II, 5.

³ K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

⁴ The *môr-i dânak-kash* is the Av. *maoiris dâno-karshô* of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track¹; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh², in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pâsus-haurva³, *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva³; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

¹ Comparing sûrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sûrâkh or sûlâkh, 'a hole.'

² Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

³ These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (aitih) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain¹; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men².

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)³ are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

CHAPTER XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

¹ Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (*girâ*) of all the disobedient.'

² This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

³ The five dispositions (*khîm*) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches *it* truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (*yazdân*) with a ritual (*nîrang*) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (*narm naskîhâ*): fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (*hamêstâr*), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd¹; one towards the west, that is the Arag²; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû³ of a series (*padîsâr*). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (*zahâk*) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûrz *and* goes out through Albûrz⁴, the

¹ So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûrz, and partly from the celestial Albûrz, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûrz.'

² For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

³ The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahista the archangel).

⁴ See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power¹! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed² they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous³: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat⁴ river they call also again the Vêh river⁵, the Frât river, the Dâtik river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôi river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ⁶ river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd⁷ river, the Rad⁸ river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

¹ So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

² Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

³ For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

⁴ The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

⁵ So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

⁶ No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 9.

⁷ K20 has 'Spêd.'

⁸ Called Tort in § 24.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz¹ river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaïdis² river, the Dâraga river, the Kâsik river, the Sêd³ ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan river of Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag⁴ river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrs in the land of Sûrâk⁵, in which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv⁶. 9. The Vêh⁷ river

¹ Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

² M6 has Khvanaïdis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeser in § 29.

³ As there is no description of any Sêd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan (pêdâk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. kithrô). Justi suggests that MOKARSTÂN (Mokarsta rûd in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

⁴ Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

⁵ Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

⁶ The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. ik or ig, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nil.

⁷ The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sind¹, and flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ² river. 10. The sources of the Frât³ river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed upon it in Sûristân, and it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât it is⁴ that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for the benefit of his own soul, and he seized the water and gave to drink⁵.' 12. The Diglat⁶ river comes out from Salmân⁷, and flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâttik⁸ river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

¹ See § 20.

² No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mîhrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148-155, which appears to combine the Salîg and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

³ The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

⁴ Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

⁵ Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

⁶ The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tistar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêtrid in Pâzand.

⁷ The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dilmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

⁸ The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, and goes out through the hill-country¹; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâitîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend² river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, and flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro³ river flows out from the Apârsên range⁴. 17. The Hêtûmand⁵ river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâstiyâv conducted away⁶. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmts⁷. 19. The Zismand⁸ river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43. Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâitîk in Aîrân-vêg.

¹ Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâitîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâitîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

² Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

³ This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9.

⁵ The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

⁶ See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

⁷ The district about Dâmaghân.

⁸ Perhaps the Zarafsân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand¹ river goes on through the midst of Samarkand and Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv² river, a glorious river in the east³, flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmikân⁴, and flows on to the Vêh⁵ river. 23. The Spêd⁶ river is in Âtarô-pâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour⁷ here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort⁸ river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

¹ This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

² The Murghâb.

³ Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

⁴ Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

⁵ Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, pp. 161-198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

⁶ So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâitk in § 13.

⁷ Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

⁸ Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrâna (Hyrkania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Gîklân¹, and flows to the sea of Vergân². 25. The Zahâvayi³ is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, and flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê⁴ river are from Spâhân⁵; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat⁶ river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân⁷ river. 27. The Harhaz⁸ river is in Tapa-ristân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet⁹ river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses¹⁰ river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak¹¹ river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs¹², and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

¹ M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

² The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahis.

³ Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbigân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

⁴ The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, *Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. ix. pp. 73-75).

⁵ Ispahân in Persian.

⁶ Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

⁷ Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

⁸ Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

⁹ Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

¹⁰ Called Khvanâfidis, or Khvanâinidis, in § 7.

¹¹ Called Kâsik in § 7.

¹² Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak¹; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-miyân², which is the river Katru-miyân, is that which is in Kangdez³. 32. The Dâraga river is in Airân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zarâtûst⁴. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those⁵; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsiyâv⁶ they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh⁷, suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small⁸; and he conducted the spring Zarinmand (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand⁹ river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni¹⁰ river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

¹ Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

² See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

³ See Chap. XXIX, 10.

⁴ See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

⁵ Or, 'are from those as a source.'

⁶ The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 16.

⁸ Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

⁹ Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

¹⁰ K20 has Vataêni; k and t being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI¹.

1. In revelation they mention seventeen² species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants³; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special constructions; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men⁴; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds⁵; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo⁶; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark⁷ of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire⁸; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

¹ This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

² Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

³ Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7-9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

⁴ This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

⁵ Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

⁶ K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

⁷ The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ayvan is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

⁸ See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh¹ river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (*armêst*) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zarâtûst was exhibited to them, whom I (*Aûharmazd*) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (*zôr*) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness². 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources³; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root⁴; so, likewise, the blessings (*âfrîn*) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river *Nâhvâtâk*⁵ it says, that *Frâsiyâv* of *Tûr* conducted it away; *and* when⁶

¹ K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

² Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

³ The source *Arêdvîvsûr* (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

⁴ That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ Probably 'the *Nâvadâ*' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and *Nâhvâtâk* of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁶ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar¹ comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsih². 7. Kyânsih² is the one where the home (*gînâk*) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (*var*); counterparts of the eyes (*kashm*) of men are those fountains (*kashmak*) of waters; such as Lake *Kêkast*, Lake *Sôvbar*, Lake *Khvârizem*³, Lake *Frazdân*, Lake *Zarîmand*, Lake *Âsvast*, Lake *Husru*, Lake *Satavês*, Lake *Urvis*.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake *Kêkast*⁴ is in *Âtarô-pâtakân*, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it*; and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean⁵. 3. Lake *Sôvbar* is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of *Tûs*⁶; as it says, that the *Sûd-bâhar*⁷ ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

¹ Written *Khûrshêdar*, as usual in *Bundahis* (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

² Written *Kayâseh* in *Pâzand* (see Chap. XIII, 16).

³ *Pâz. Khvârazm* both here and in § 4.

⁴ Av. *Kaêkasta* of *Âbân Yt.* 49, *Gôs Yt.* 18, 21, 22, *Ashi Yt.* 38, 41, *Sîrôz.* 9. The present Lake *Urumiyah* in *Âdarbîgân*, which is called *Khegest*, or *Kege*, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustâfi.

⁵ Implying that the water is salt.

⁶ The *Kôndrâsp* mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near *Meshhed*.

⁷ Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem¹ it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang² the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân³ is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it*; when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean*. 6. Lake Zarinmand is in Hamadân⁴. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled⁵ water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious⁶ that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe*. 8. Lake Husru⁷ is within fifty⁸

¹ The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

² Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the Ashi Yast; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called Ard (Av. areta, which is synonymous with asha), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

³ The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîmkhadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

⁴ K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarinmand of Chap. XX, 34.

⁵ Pâz. a v n a sti transcribed into Pahlavi is a vin a stag, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. anâhita in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

⁶ K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

⁷ The Av. Haosravangha of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named Husravau' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

⁸ M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêkast*. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) *Satavês*¹ is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the *Pûtik*. 10. It is said that in *Kamindân* is an abyss (*zafar*), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*gânvar*); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake *Urvis* is on *Hûgar* the lofty².

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that *Yim*, when reason (*nismô*) departed from him³, for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave *Yimak*, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of *Az-i Dahâk*⁴ a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (*parik*), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When *Frêdûn*⁵ came to them they fled from the country of *Iran*, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of *Iran*.

¹ See Chap. XIII, 9-13.

² See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

³ See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the *Jamshêd* of the *Shâh-nâmâh*. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

⁴ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁵ See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômarđ was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst¹. 2. The white ass-goat², which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created³. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created³. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed⁴ ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

¹ So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

² See Chap. XIV, 14.

³ It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

⁴ Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures¹ was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt² is the chief, which they call the falcon (*kark*), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the arch-angels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz³, is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâtik⁴ river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâragâ⁵ river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks⁶, and Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest⁷ is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty⁸, on which the water of Arêdvivsûr flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavês⁹, the chief of reser-

¹ The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37-39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sînamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

² See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *Kamrôs* is said to be the chief.

³ See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3-6.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 13.

⁵ See Chap. XX, 32.

⁶ The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

⁷ The *arûs-i razur* is the Av. *spaêtitem razurem* of Râm Yt. 31.

⁸ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁹ See Chap. II, 7.

voirs¹. 18. The Hôm which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants². 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded³ grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal⁴ *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (*gâvirs*), is the chief of small-seeded grains⁵. 22. The Kûstik (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna⁶ is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life⁷; since water is not created alike⁸ in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvivsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvaniras⁹, except the Arag river¹⁰, created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

¹ The meaning of Pâz. *gobarâ* is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. *gôbalân*, equivalent to the plural of Pers. *gôl* or *kôl*, 'a reservoir'; Satavêš being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. o). Justi traces *gobarân* to Av. *gufra*, and translates it by 'protecting stars.'

² Pâz. *khvad* and *baġagâ* evidently stand for Pahl. *hûd* (Av. *huta*) and *bezashk*.

³ Compare Av. *as-dânunâġm-ka yavananâġm* (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁴ Pâz. *abaġagâ* stands for Pahl. *abezashk*.

⁵ Compare Av. *kasu-dânunâġm-ka vâstranâġm* (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁶ Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

⁷ Or, 'its value is water.' Kzo omits the word 'water.'

⁸ Reading *ham* instead of *hamâk*, 'all.'

⁹ See Chap. XI, 2-6.

¹⁰ See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkard tree¹ with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân and end in Khûgistân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, and is chief of all mountains except Albûrz. 29. Of birds Kamrôs² is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the grifon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion³ it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on⁴. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mêdôk-shêm⁵,

¹ See Chap. XVIII, 1-4.

² See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written Kâmrôs. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

³ That is, 'on the *periods* for observance of religious duties.'

⁴ The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

⁵ The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to mid-summer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious¹ day Khûr of the month Tîr², to the season of Mêdiyârêm³, which is the

¹ A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahæza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vêhîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-fîkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vêhîkakîk, or vêhîkô; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

² The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

³ The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Din¹—the *shortest* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mêdiyârêm to the season of Mêdôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest² winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights³. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being a measure of time and*, in like manner, of land⁴. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm⁵, that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

¹ The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

² The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâris form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

³ This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbîgân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

⁴ According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

⁵ So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarmad, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô¹ is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarmad, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days², is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (*vaakar*) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months³ of summer the periods (*gâs*) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapitvîn—namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapitvîn, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky⁴ until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn⁵. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance⁶ of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

¹ That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

² That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

³ All MSS. have 'five months' here.

⁴ K20 has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

⁵ The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

⁶ Pâz. ashârjîs is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst¹ and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradadafsh *and* Vidadafsh are; on the day Aûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Raptvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses² warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn³ the winter arrives, with much cold, at Airân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm⁴, for Raptvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and* one does not celebrate the period of Raptvîn. 13. As the day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Raptvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

¹ See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Raptvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

² If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

³ The ninth day of the tenth month.

⁴ That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer¹, for Rāpitvin is not there; *and* those seven² months *one* celebrates the Rāpitvin, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible³. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold⁴; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon⁵ returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

¹ K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

² K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

³ This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

⁴ M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyîsn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

⁵ The MSS. have the Huzvârîs term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (*zamân*) more than such a one of its *years*¹; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer².

20. This, *too, it says*, that the auspicious month Fravardîn, the month Ardavahist, *and* the month Horvâdad³ are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôdad, *and* the month Shatvairô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarmad are winter⁴.

21. And the sun comes from the sign (*khûrdak*) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning⁵.

¹ Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that *zamân* means 'hour.'

² That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

³ Generally written *Avardâd* in Pâzand, and *Khurdâd* in Persian.

⁴ The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

⁵ Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar¹ on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang² is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden*, and make known that it is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans³.

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

¹ Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oim-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the takar (Av. takara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

² A Parasang is usually from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

³ Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oim-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny¹, for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like *Bis* the height of hemp (kand)², that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox³, ten thousand⁴ species among the species of principal

Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâlâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâî (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâî,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said *to be* two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

¹ M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

² Perhaps 'hemp the height of *Bis*' would better express the Pahlavi words, but *Bis* (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like *Bis* *and* tall hemp.'

³ See Chap. XIV, 1.

⁴ M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm¹, the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird² strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tistar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvivsûr³; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard⁴ tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death⁵; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom⁶; *and* it is the chief of plants⁷.

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-trees, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

¹ See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

² The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *Kamrôś* (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40-42): 'And the bird *Kamrôś* for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tistar seizes the water, so that Tistar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

³ See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3-5.

⁴ Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

⁵ That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled *dûra osha*.

⁶ See Chap. XXIV, 27.

⁷ See Chap. XXIV, 18.

*plants, gum plants, and all producing*¹ oil, dyes, and clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, and are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, that is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum², the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, and others in this genus, they call fruit (mivak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade³, and is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, and its root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds⁴ of pulse, vetches, and others of this genus, they call corn (gûrdâk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, which is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, and is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises at various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root and blossoms in its season with new shoots and sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

¹ Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum plants, woods, scents, and plants for oil, dyes, and clothing.' M6 has 'oil and dyes for clothing.'

² The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

³ The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

⁴ M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvîd gvîd mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastik), the pandanus (kêdi), the kamba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, and others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pês-pârahâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots¹ of the coriander, water-cress (kakîg), the leek, and others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)². 16. Whatever is like spinning³ cotton, and others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (gâmak). 17. Whatever lentil⁴ is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak⁵, and others of this genus, they call an oil-seed (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, zakava, vaha, and others of this genus, they call a dye-plant (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum⁶, or wood

¹ Reading stâk darîd; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

² Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

³ Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

⁴ Reading makag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

⁵ Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

⁶ Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense¹, varâst², kust, sandal-wood, cardamom³, camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants⁴ they call gummy (zadâk). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (kîbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)⁵.

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (kha-dûtnak), and ten species (sardâk) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut⁶, the filbert⁷, the chesnut⁸, the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24⁹. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)¹⁰, as the

¹ Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

² Justi compares Pers. bargharst.

³ Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqlah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

⁴ K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

⁵ The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

⁶ Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

⁷ Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

⁸ Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

⁹ M6 begins a new chapter here.

¹⁰ These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white¹ jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle and jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's² own, the basil-royal is Shatvairô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvadam's, the kamba is Amerôdad's, Dîn-pavan-Âtarô has the orange-scented mint (vâdrang-bôd), Âtarô has the marigold³ (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges⁴ is Mâh's, the violet is Tir's, the mêren⁵ is Gôs's, the kârda is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravar-dîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's⁶, the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ard's⁷, Âstâd has all the white Hôm⁸, the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd has the crocus, Mâraspend has the flower⁹ of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

¹ M6 has 'yellow.'

² Synonymous with the *Ardavahist* of Chap. I, 26.

³ Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

⁴ M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

⁵ M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

⁶ The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

⁷ This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

⁸ See § 4.

⁹ M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.

Anirân *has* this Hôm of the angel Hôm¹, of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire²; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII³.

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter⁴; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)⁵ *whose* place is filth (kalê). 2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkih) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (kashm mikîsn)⁶ does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

¹ Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôm yêdatô aê hôm.

² See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

³ Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

⁴ Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8-12).

⁵ See Chap. III, 9.

⁶ Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôih) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd¹, so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâd) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman² is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsârdö); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and* thread-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar³, that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâikîyas⁴ is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

¹ Compare Chap. I, 14.

² The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

³ Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

⁴ Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, Nâikîyas when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (*dâd*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt and thread-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâikīyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon *Taprêv*¹ is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, and *Zâirik* the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends² of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that]³ should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then]⁴ the fiend *Taprêv* is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon *Tarômat*⁵ [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon *Mitôkht*⁶ is the liar (*drô-gan*) of the evil spirit⁷; the demon *Arask*⁸ ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same⁹ appliances as the demon *Aeshm*'s¹⁰, as it

¹ Written *Tâfrêv* in Chap. I, 27.

² See Chap. III, 2.

³ From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

⁴ Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

⁵ Written *Tarôkmatô* in TD, and identified with *Nâûnghas* (*Nâikīyas*) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. *tarô-maiti*, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

⁶ A personification of the Av. *mithaokhta*, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

⁷ TD has *drûg gûmânîkîh*, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

⁸ Av. *araska* of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

⁹ The word *hōmanam* in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of *ham*, owing to the copyist reading *am*, 'I am;' TD has *ham-afzâr*, 'having like means.'

¹⁰ Or *Khashm*, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given to Aeshm¹, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven² of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mitôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome]³ Aeshm lays a foundation⁴, and there where Aeshm has a foundation⁵ many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism⁶. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most⁷.

18. The demon Vîzarêsh⁸ is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Ashmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

¹ TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

² TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fra-wardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

³ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

⁴ Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

⁵ So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

⁶ That is, 'many foreign customs.'

⁷ The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

⁸ So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the Kînvad bridge.

days and nights¹ when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, and sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda² is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back³, so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (rîêd'), and chattering he may make water (mêzêd'), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence⁴.

[20. The demon Akâtâsh⁵ is the fiend of perversion (nikirâyih), who makes the creatures averse (nikirâi) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)⁶ is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

¹ TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâdôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1-18, III, 1-17).

² So in K20; TD has Aûzak (see Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70).

³ TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pađîn-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

⁴ The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

⁵ The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

⁶ See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân¹ is the demon who makes decrepit (*dûspad*), whom they call old age (*pirih*). 24. *Kîshmak*² is he who makes disastrous (*vazandak*), and also causes the whirlwind³ *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô⁴ is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (*âlâi*).' 26. The demon Bûshâsp⁵ is she who causes slothfulness; Sêg is the fiend (*drûg*) who causes annihilation; and the demon Niyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz⁶ ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (*gamand*), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pûs⁷ is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

¹ A personification of the Av. *zaurva* of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gôš Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

² The reading of this name is uncertain.

³ The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of *shairân*, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

⁴ A personification of Av. *varena*, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

⁵ Av. *Bûshyâsta* of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

⁶ Av. *Âzi* of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Âstâd Yt. 1.

⁷ Compare Pers. *payûs*, 'covetous,' and *piyûs*, 'avarice.' Pûs is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon *Âz* is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon *Nas*¹ is he who causes the pollution and contamination (*nistrûstih*), which they call *nasâi* ('dead matter'). 30. The demon *Friftâr* ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon *Spazg*² ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (*milayâ*), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (*avakhshînêd*), individual with individual. 32. The demon *Arâst*³ ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon *Aighâsh*⁴ is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon *Bût*⁵ is he whom they worship among the *Hindûs*, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol⁶. 35. *Astô-vidâd*⁷ is the evil flyer (*vâê-i sarîtar*) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

¹ Av. *Nasu* of Vend. V, 85-106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2-27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132-228, IX, 49-117, &c.

² Av. *spazga* of *Ardabahist* Yt. 8, 11, 15.

³ Always written like *anâst*.

⁴ Av. *aghashi* of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

⁵ Av. *Bûiti* of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. *but*, 'an idol,' Sans. *bhûta*, 'a goblin,' and not with *Buddha*.

⁶ Reading *afas vakhsh pavan bûtihâ mâhmânô, kîgûn bût asp parastêdô*, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

⁷ Here written *Astî-vidâd* (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, '*Astô-vidhôtu* binds him (the dying man); *Vayô* (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that *Astô-vidâd* and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (*sûr-kashmih*) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (*yazdân*).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (*khashmakân*), are in great multitude it is said. 38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (*zvárân*), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (*nivagih*), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon *Apâôsh*¹ and the demon *Aspengargâk*² are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit³ are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (*khâmth*) of God's works; and

¹ Av. *Apaosha* of *Tistar Yt.* 21, 22, 27, 28, *Âstâd Yt.* 2, 6; see also *Chap. VII*, 8, 10, 12.

² Here written *Aspengarôgâ*, but see *Chaps. VII*, 12, *XVII*, 1. He is the Av. *Spengaghra* of *Vend. XIX*, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, *Spingauruska*, of *Gôr Yt.* 31, *Asi Yt.* 51.

³ The 'evil spirit,' *Ganrâk-mafnôk*, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from *Aharman*, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1-6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of *Chap. XXVIII* in *TD*, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in *Chap. XXX*, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me¹.' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry². 42. The demon Kûndak³ is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes*; who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerous in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârikân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gôkîhar, and Mûspar⁴

¹ Compare Mkh. XL, 24-28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezđ, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezđ), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."²

² The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

³ Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

⁴ TD has Gôk-îhar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vile-ness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târik dên afrâg-pêdâk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand¹, and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment². 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn³ (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (va-zagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

¹ Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

² Compare Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5-8): '*As close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

³ Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX¹.

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship² of the regions *of the earth*] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships³ has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê *Hvandkân*⁴, the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parêstyarô⁵, the chief of Fradadafsh is Spîtôid-i Aûspôsînân⁶, [the chief of Vidadafsh is Airiz-râsp Aûspôsînân⁷,] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp⁸, the chief of Vôrûgarst is *Kakhravâk*⁹. 2. Zaratûst is

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

² Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of *radîh*, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of *rad*, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (*dastûr-i dastûrân*) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

³ Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of *Khvanîras*, see Chap. XI, 2-4.

⁴ TD has *Ashashâg, hâ-ê aigh Nêvandân*; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous *Pâzand* form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this *Dastûr* is the Av. *Ashâvanghu Bivândangha* of *Fravardîn Yt. 110*.

⁵ TD has *Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyarô*, all in *Pâzand* in both MSS., except *Huz. hanâ*, which stands for *Pâz. ê*, here used for the *idhâfat i*. Perhaps this *Dastûr* is the Av. *Garô-danghu Pairistira* of *Fravardîn Yt. 110*.

⁶ So in TD; K20 has *Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân*. This *Dastûr* is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) *Spitôis Uspâsnaos* of *Fravardîn Yt. 121*.

⁷ Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this *Dastûr* is the Av. *Erez-râspa Uspâsnu* of *Fravardîn Yt. 121*.

⁸ Av. *Hvaspa* of *Fravardîn Yt. 122*.

⁹ So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of *Dastûrs* have been taken from the *Fravardîn Yast*, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, and it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst¹.

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (*vidarg*) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (*mainôkîh*), and one calls *them* the beaten tracks² of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions³ are *such places* as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (*Tâzikân*), the plain of Pêsyânsai, the river Nâivtâk⁴, Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (*var*) formed by Yim, and Kasmîr in India⁵. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *Kathwaraspa* of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

¹ TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

² Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. *habâvanhâ* back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read *khabânôhâ*, pl. of *khabân*, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. *khabîdan*). TD has *khvabîsnô-gâs*, which has the same meaning.

³ Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

⁴ So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read *rad va khûdâk*, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâivtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

⁵ Reading *Kasmîr-i andar Hindû*, but TD has *Kasmîr-i andarûnô*; perhaps the last word was originally *anîrânak*, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Kasmîr.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation of the universe.

7. Regarding Sâm¹ it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg² wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsat; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat³. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him⁴ for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk⁵ becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand⁶; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)⁷ of the

¹ This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

² It can also be read Nihâv or Niyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

³ TD has 'as he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

⁴ TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

⁵ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ See Chap. XII, 31.

⁷ TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat¹. 12. Airân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân². 13. The land of Sâukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure]³ formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ⁴; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân⁵. 15. Kasmir is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX⁶.

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth⁷, first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

¹ Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

² Pers. Âdarbîgân.

³ The word var is omitted in K20.

⁴ TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

⁵ Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

⁶ This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

⁷ See Chaps. XV, 2-16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when¹ they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh², the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans³ comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)⁴? *and* how does the resurrection occur?'

5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby⁵, without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which⁶ bore the material life, *and* there is no

¹ Reading a mat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

² Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

³ See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

⁴ Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

⁵ Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

⁶ All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus : 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly ¹.

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (*garôdmân*), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven ². 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (*hambâz*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

¹ In the *Arđâ-Vîrâf*-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that *Arđâ-Vîrâf* saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

² As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless *akhar* be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsiyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (*marg-argânân*), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights'¹.

17. Among his producers of the renovation of *the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written² that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkhar³ falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moon-beam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it*. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo⁴ melt the metal of Shatvairô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

¹ According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a *marg-argân* or mortal sin, without performing *patî* or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment *tishrâm khshafnâm* ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

² See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

³ Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

⁴ Reading *khîrman*; M6 has 'the fire and angel Airman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure ; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk ; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus : ' Where has it¹ been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul ? hast thou been righteous or wicked ?'

22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (*gûft*). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them ; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs² in that Yazisn ; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm³ they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years ; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years ; and they give every one *his* wife, and

¹ Kzo has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

² See Chap. XIX, 13.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, *Sôshyans and his assistants*, by order of the creator *Aûharmazd*, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds; this is even the righteous existence (*ait*) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (*vahist*), and the heaven (*garôdmân*) of *Aûharmazd* takes up the body (*kerp*) as itself requires; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (*yast*), and has ordered no *Gêti-kharîd*¹, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship (*yast*) of *Aûharmazd*, and the heavenly angels² provide him the use of his clothing.

¹ The *Sad-dar Bundahis* says that by *Gêti-kharîd* 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The *Rivâyat* of *Dastûr Barzû* (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian: 'To celebrate *Gêti-kharîd* it is necessary that two *hêrbads* (priests) perform the *Nâbar*, and with each *khshnûman* which they pray it is fit and necessary that both *hêrbads* have had the *Nâbar*; and the first day they recite the *Nônâbar yast*, and consecrate the *Nônâbar drôn* and the *Nônâbar âfrîngân* which they recite in each *Gâh*; in the *Hâvan Gâh* it is necessary to recite *fravarânê* (as in *Yas. III, 24 W.* to end), *ahurahê mazdæu raêvatô* (as in *Aûharmazd Yt. 6, to*) *frasastayaêka*, then *Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1-55 Sp.*, *ashem vohû* thrice, *âfrînâmi khshathryân* (as in *Âfrîngân I, 14, to end*). The second day the *Srôsh yast* and *Srôsh drôn* and *âfrîngân* are to be recited; and the third day it is necessary to recite the *Sîrôzah yast*, the *Sîrôzah drôn* and *âfrîngân dahmân*; and it is needful to recite the second and third *âfrîngâns* in each *Gâh*, and each day to consecrate the barsom and *drôn* afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

² *Pâz. gehân* is probably a misreading of *Pahl. yazdân*, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on¹ the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman², Ashavahist *on* Andar³, Shatvairô *on* Sâvar, Spendarmad *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas⁴, Horvada*d* and Amerôdad *on* Tâirêv and Zâirik⁵, true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh⁶ *on* Aeshm⁷. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman⁸ and Âz⁹; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspi¹⁰, and holds the Kûsti in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that *mafnôk gehân* is a misreading of *min aivyahân*, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the *kûsti* of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

¹ Instead of *vakhdûnd*, 'seize on,' we should probably read *vânend*, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

² Compare *Zamyâd Yt.* 96. Each archangel (see *Chap. I*, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see *Chaps. I*, 27, XXVIII, 7-12) who is his special opponent.

³ Here written *Pâz. Inder*. Compare *Pahlavi Yas.* XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahist *smiles* Indar.'

⁴ Written *Nâkahêd'* in *Chap. I*, 27, and *Nâikiyas* in *Chap. XXVIII*, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from *Tarômat* in *XXVIII*, 14.

⁵ Here written *Tâirêv* and *Zâirik*.

⁶ *Av. Sraosha*, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see *Vend. XVIII*, 48, 51, 70, &c., *Yas. LVI*, *Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht*, &c.

⁷ See *Chap. XXVIII*, 15-17.

⁸ Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the *Bundahis* considered *Aharman* and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also *Chap. XXVIII*, 1-6 with 40, 41.

⁹ See *Chap. XXVIII*, 27.

¹⁰ The *Zôta* is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the *Râspi* is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûsti¹ formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky² he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gôkîhar³ burns the serpent (mâr)⁴ in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault⁵ into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world⁶; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless⁷, slopeless plain⁸; even the mountain⁹,

¹ The words zak g, hâni, for ân gehâni, are probably a misreading of aivyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

² See Chap. III, 10-12.

³ See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

⁴ Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkîhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkîhar is represented as a malevolent being.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. אֹמֶן 'a vault,' or Chald. אֹמֶן 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to אָלַם 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

⁶ Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

⁷ Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

⁸ Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hâmûn, so the reading is anîp (compare Pers. sîb) hâmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

⁹ Kakâd-i-Dâitfk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *Kinvar bridge*, they keep down, and it *will* not exist.

CHAPTER XXXI¹.

o. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang² was son of Fravâk, son of Siyâk-mak³, son of Mâshya⁴, son of Gâyômard. [2. Takhmôrup⁵ was son of Vivanghât⁶, son of Yanghad⁷, son of Hôshyang. 3. Yim,]⁸ Takhmôrup, Spîtâr⁹, and Narsih¹⁰, whom they also call 'the Rashnû of Kinô¹¹,

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

² So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

³ See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 2-24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

⁵ Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (*Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 199). This king is the Tabmûras of the Shâhnâmâh. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

⁶ Av. Vivanghau of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

⁷ As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial y*, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

⁸ Av. Yima or Yima khshaëta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmâh (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

⁹ Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

¹⁰ Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôshî in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

¹¹ An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China'; Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak¹, who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mirak the Âspiyân² and Ziyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim³; Narsih⁴ lived then⁵ also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân⁶; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him⁷, that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk⁸ was son of Khrûtâsp, son of Zâinigâv,

the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnfk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' K'înö, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

¹ See Chap. XXIII, 1.

² Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôr Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraëtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

³ As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

⁴ Here written Nârsak in K₂₀ and K_{20b}, and Nôsih in TD.

⁵ TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

⁶ So in K₂₀, but K_{20b} has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsfh-viyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-viyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

⁷ Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

⁸ Or Az-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46-50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, son of Tâz, son of Fravâk, son of Siyâkmak¹; by his mother Dahâk was of Udaï², son of Bayak, son of Tambayak, son of Owokhm³, son of Pairi-urvaêsm⁴, son of Gadhwithw⁵, son of Drûgâskân⁶, son of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân⁷ was son of Pûr-tôrâ⁸ the Âspiyân, son of Sôk-tôrâ⁹ the Âspiyân, son of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Siyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of

¹ For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

² Pahl. *Aûd* in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

³ TD has Pâz. *Owôikh*; compare Av. *aoiwra*, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that *r* and *ô* are often written alike in Pahlavi.

⁴ TD and K₂₀ have Pâz. *Pairi-urva-urvaêsm*, and K₂₀ has *Pai-urvaêsm*.

⁵ TD has Pâz. *Gawithw*.

⁶ So in TD, but K₂₀ has Pâz. *Druz-i ayaskâ*, and K_{20b} has *Drug-i ayaskâ*. It corresponds to Av. *drugaska* in Vend. XIX, 139, *Vistâsp Yt.* 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

⁷ Av. *Thraêtaona*, son of *Âthwya*, but generally called 'the *Âthwyânian*,' who slew the destructive serpent (*azi dahâka*), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, *Âbân Yt.* 33, 61, *Gôr Yt.* 13, *Fravardîn Yt.* 131, *Bahrâm Yt.* 40, *Râm Yt.* 23, *Ashi Yt.* 33, *Zamyâd Yt.* 36, 92, *Âf. Zarat.* 2. In the *Shâhnâmah* he is called *Ferîdûn* son of *Abtîn*.

⁸ This name is omitted in K₂₀, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a *Huzvâris* hybrid equivalent to Pâz. *Pûr-gau* and Av. *Pouru-gau*, which is a title of an *Âthwyânian* in *Âf. Zarat.* 4, *Vistâsp Yt.* 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

⁹ So in TD, but the other two MSS. have *Siyâk-tôrâ*, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn¹ the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vivanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*² also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Airîk³; and by Airîk one son *and* one pair⁴ were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vândâr *and* Anastokh⁵, *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak⁶. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Airîk *and* *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born⁷; they became aware *of it*, and the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter⁸, also in concealment, for

¹ In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkism or Vanfrôkgân.

² TD has 'as well as *him*.' K2ob omits most of this sentence by mistake.

³ These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairîma, Tûiryâ or Tûra, and Airyâ or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

⁴ TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

⁵ TD has Anîdâr and Anastabô.

⁶ Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

⁷ Reading *min zak dûkht dûkht-1 zâd*, as in K2ob and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words *dûkht*, 'daughter,' and *dvâd*, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

⁸ TD has *bartman*, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K2o must be read *dûkht*, and not *dvâd*, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some* of]¹ the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînik). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik *and his* sister² was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born³, by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Airîk⁴. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar⁵, and Dûrâsrôb⁶ begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk⁷, who was Mâm-sozak⁸, of Airak, of Thritak, of Bitak, of Frazûsak; of Zûsak⁹, of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Airîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâsiyâv¹⁰ *was*

¹ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînik' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

² TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

³ The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînik, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hvarnar*. Mânûskîhar is the Av. *Manuskithra* of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Airîk).

⁴ TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Airîk.'

⁵ See Chap. XXIX, 6.

⁶ Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

⁷ The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînik, as noted above.

⁸ This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

⁹ K20b omits the five names from Airak to Zûsak.

¹⁰ Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm¹, of Tûrak, of Spaênnyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsiyâv) as well as Karsêvaz², whom they call Kadân³, and Aghrêrad⁴ were all three brothers.

[16⁵. Pashang and Visak were both brothers. 17. By Visak were Pirân⁶, Hûmân, Sân⁷, and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsiyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak⁸, and other sons begotten; and Vispân-fryâ⁹, from whom Kai-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsiyâv, and was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr were Sûrâk, Asûrik, and other children; and by them were Khvâst-aîrikht, Yazdân-aîrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk¹⁰, and others begotten, a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad was Gôpatshah¹¹ begotten. 21. When Frâsiyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56-63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.

¹ Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmah.

² Garsfvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

³ TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 5.

⁵ The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

⁶ Pirân Visah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah, and Hûmân and Pilsam are his brothers.

⁷ This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

⁸ Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁹ She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

¹⁰ The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

¹¹ TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr¹, and scattered ruin and want among them, Aghrêrad begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsiyâv slew Aghrêrad for that fault; and Aghrêrad, as his recompense, begat such a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian², Kanak-i Barzist, Arawisanasp, and Vaêtand-i Râghinôid were the three sons and the daughter of Agâimasvâk³, the son of Nôdar, son of Mânûskîhar, who begat Aûzôbô.

24. Kavâd⁴ was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspûd); they abandoned him on a river, and he froze upon the door-sills (kavâdakân); Aûzôbô perceived and took him, brought him up, and settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâd was Kaî-Apîvéh begotten; by Kaî-Apîvéh were Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs was Siyâvakhsh begotten; by Siyâvakhsh was Kaî-Khûsrôb⁵

¹ The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

² Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

³ None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

⁴ Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

⁵ The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Aris, Pasîn, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sâno for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp¹ and Aûrvakhsh² were both brothers. 27. Athrat³ was son of Sâhm, son of Tûrak, son of Spaênnyasp, son of Dûrôshasp⁴, son of Tûg, son of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp⁵ was son of Aûzâv⁶, son of Mânûs, son of Kai-Pisîn⁷, son of Kai-Apivêh, son of Kai-Kavâd. 29. By Kai-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr⁸, and other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd⁹ and Pêshyô-tanû¹⁰ begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman¹¹, Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, and others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar descendant of Pâpak—of whom his mother was daughter—was son of Sâsân¹², son of

¹ Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38-44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

² Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrîta or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

³ Av. Thrîta of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

⁴ Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

⁵ Av. Aurvad-aspâ of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ Reading doubtful.

⁷ Written Ka-Pisîn here, but he is the same person as Kai-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

⁸ Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

⁹ Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

¹⁰ See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

¹¹ Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

¹² The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnamak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrîd and ¹ Zarîr, son of Sâsân, son of Artakhshatar who was the said Vohûman son of Spend-dâd.

31. The mother of Kai-Apivêh was Farhank ², daughter of him who is exalted on the heavenly path ³, Urvad-gâi-frâst ⁴, son of Râk, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory ⁵ of Frêdûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; and Nôktargâ ⁶, through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, and begat children there; three years he carried the reeds there, and gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked her milk, and gave it to his three sons; as their walking was on hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure ⁷ Farhank, but Farhank went with the glory away from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the Askâniyân monarchs.

¹ So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrîd a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound va, 'and,' and i, 'son of.'

² In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kai-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

³ Paz. vîdharg-âfrâstaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'Urvad-gâ son of Frâst.'

⁵ The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hva renangh* of the Zamyâd Yast, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

⁶ The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

⁷ Reading *hang îdanö*, 'to injure,' instead of *khungdanö*, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter î.

the fierce (tīb) father, and made a vow (patyastāk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm¹.' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kai-Apívêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak² was with Frâstyâv.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm³ were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân⁴; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsih⁵ and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô⁶ and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak.

38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings to Srôsh and Ardavahist in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

¹ This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Frēni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

² So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

³ The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairimanau; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narimân.

⁴ Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

⁵ The same as Sagastân.

⁶ Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak¹ the governorship of Spâhân² was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi³ was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there are* the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdastâm⁴ and Hûzavârak⁵.]

CHAPTER XXXII⁶.

I. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp⁷, son of Paltirâsp⁸, son of Aurvadasp⁹, son of Hâêkadâsp¹⁰, son of

¹ He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

² The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

³ Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

⁴ The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

⁵ Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

⁷ Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

⁸ K20 has Pâz. Spitarasp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

⁹ Omitted in K20 and TD.

¹⁰ Av. Hâêkadâsapa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*Kakhshnûs*¹, son of *Pâtîrâsp*, son of *Hardarsn*², son of *Hardâr*³, son of *Spîtâmân*⁴, son of *Vîdast*⁵, son of *Ayazem*, son of *Ragan*⁶, son of *Dûrâsrôb*⁷, son of *Mânûskîhar*⁸. 2. As *Paîtîrâsp* had two sons, one *Pôrûshasp* and one *Ârâsti*⁹, by *Pôrûshasp* was *Zaratûst* begotten for a sanctuary of good religion¹⁰, and by *Ârâsti* was *Mêdyôk-mâh*¹¹ begotten. 3. *Zaratûst*, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

¹ Windischmann suggests Av. *Kâkhshnôis* (gen.) of *Fravardîn* Yt. 114.

² K20 has *Pâz. Harsn* and TD has *Harakîdârsnô*.

³ TD has *Harâidâr*, or *Arâidâr*.

⁴ Or *Spîtâm* (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. *Spîtâma*, the usual patronymic of *Zaratûst*.

⁵ May be read *Vâdist* in TD.

⁶ Possibly the same person as *Râk* in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

⁷ So in TD, but *Pâz. Durâsrûn* in K20, M6.

⁸ This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Vagarkard-i Dînik* (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by *Dastur Peshotânjî Behramjî Sanjânâ* in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to *Gâyômar*, as follows: '*Pôrûshâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, and *Arâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, *Urvandasp*, *Haêkadasp*, *Kîkhshnus*, *Paêtîrâsp*, *Hardrsn*, *Haridâr*, *Spîtâmânô*, *Vaêdist*, *Nayâzem*, *Ragîsn*, *Dûrâsrôb*, *Mânûskîhar* sovereign of Iran, *Mânus-khûrnar*, *Mânus-khûrnâk*, *Nêryôsang*, *Varzîd-dîn*, *Vîzak*, *Airyak*, *Aithritak*, *Ibitak*, *Frazîsak*, *Zîsak*, *Frasîzak*, *Izak*, *Aîrîk*, *Frêdûn* lord of *Khvanîras*, *Pûr-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Nêvak-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Sôg-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Gêfar-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Vanô-i-fravîsn* the *Âspîkân*, *Yim* lord of the seven regions, *Vîvanghâû*, *Ayanghad*, *Ananghad*, *Takhmôrup*, *Hôshâng* the *Pêsdâd*, lord of the seven regions, *Fravâk*, *Siyâmak*, *Mashyô* whose wife was *Mashyâk*, *Gâyôkmar* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

⁹ Av. *Ârâstaya* of *Fravardîn* Yt. 95; TD has *Ârâstih*.

¹⁰ The *Pâzand* words *dargâ hidainis* appear to be merely a misreading of *Pahl. dargâs-i hûdînôih*.

¹¹ Av. *Maidhyô-maungha* of *Yas. L*, 19, *Fravardîn* Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been *Zaratûst*'s first disciple.

worship¹ and expounded in *Airân-vêg*, and *Mêdyôk-mâh* received the religion from him. 4. The *Môbads*² of *Pârs* are all traced back to this race of *Mânûskêhar*.

5. Again, I say, by *Zaratûst*³ were begotten three sons and three daughters⁴; one son was *Isadvâstar*⁵, one *Aûrvatad-nar*⁶, and one *Khûrshêd-kêhar*⁷; as *Isadvâstar* was chief of the priests he became the *Môbad* of *Môbads*, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; *Aûrvatad-nar* was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by *Yim*⁸, which is below the earth; *Khûrshêd-kêhar* was a warrior, commander of the army of *Pêshyôtanû*, son of *Vistâsp*, and dwells in *Kangdez*⁸; and of the three daughters the name of one was *Frên*, of one *Srit*, and of one *Pôruêist*⁹. 6. *Aûrvatad-nar* and *Khûrshêd-kêhar* were from a serving (*kakar*) wife¹⁰, the rest were from a privileged (*pâdakhshah*) wife.

¹ Reading *frâg yast*; but it may be *frâg gast*, 'wandered forth.'

² The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

³ This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the *Vagarkard-i Dînik*, pp. 21-23.

⁴ K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

⁵ Av. *Isad-vâstra* of *Yas.* XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, *Fravardîn Yt.* 98.

⁶ Av. *Urvatad-nara* of *Vend.* II, 143, *Fravardîn Yt.* 98. K20 and M6 have *Aûrvatad-nar*, and TD has *Aûrvâtad-nar*.

⁷ Av. *Hvare-kêthra* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 98; TD has *Khûr-kêhar*.

⁸ See *Chap.* XXIX, 5. *Windischmann* and *Justi* consider the clause about *Pêshyôtanû* as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the *Vagarkard-i Dînik* (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the *Bundahis*.

⁹ These daughters are the Av. *Frêni*, *Thriti*, and *Pouru-kêista* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 139; the last is also mentioned in *Yas.* LII, 3.

¹⁰ The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the *Rivâyats*:—

A *pâdshâh* ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7¹. By *Isadvâstar* was begotten a son *whose* name was *Ururviga*², and they call him *Arang-i Birâdân*³ ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A *yûkan* or *ayûk* ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a *pâdshâh* wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A *satar* ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A *kakar* or *kâkar* ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a *satar* wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A *khûd-sarâf* or *khûd-sarâi* ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a *pâdshâh* wife to his father.

¹ Instead of this sentence the *Vagarkard-i Dînk* (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And *Zaratûst* the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of *Zaratûst*, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of *Zaratûst*; the name of one was *Hvôv*, of the second *Urvig*, of the third *Arnig-baredâ*. And from *Urvig*, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son *Isadvâstar*, and the three daughters, namely, *Frên*, *Sritak*, and *Pôrukist*; these four were from *Urvig*. And from the wife *Arnig-baredâ* two sons were born, one *Aûrvart-nar*, and the second *Khûrshêd-kîhar*; and *Arnig-baredâ* was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of *Arnig-baredâ* was *Mitrô-ayâr*. And from *Hvôv*, who was a privileged wife, were three sons, namely, *Hûshêdar*, *Hûshêdar-mâh*, and *Sôshâns*, as it says, &c. (as in § 8).

² TD has *Pahl. Aûrvarvigak* or *Khûrûrpak*.

³ So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isadvâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zâratûst, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh¹, and Sôshyans², were from Hvôv³; as it says, that Zaratûst went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang⁴ received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhîd⁵, *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads⁶ of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it*⁷.

10. The name of the mother of Zaratûst was Dughdâ⁸, *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratûst was Frahimravâ⁹.

¹ Av. Ukhshyad-ereta and Ukhshyad-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

² Av. Saoshyâs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

³ Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbô.

⁴ See Chap. XV, 1.

⁵ Av. anâhîta of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

⁶ So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

⁷ This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkard-i Dînik.

⁸ The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

⁹ TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII¹.

o. The family of the Mōbads ('priests').

1. Bahak² was son of Hūbakht, son of Ātarô-bōndak, son of Mâhdad, son of Mēdyôk-mâh, son of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâd³, son of Mēdyôk-mâh, son of Kâd⁴, son of Mēdyôk-mâh, son of Ārâstih, son of Paitirâsp⁵. 2. As Bahak was Mōbad of Mōbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar⁶, son of Aûharmazd, so Kâd was the great preceptor (farmâdâr) unto Dârâi⁷.

3. Ātarô-pâd⁸ was son of Mâraspend, son of Dâd-ardâ, son of Dâdirâd, son of Hūdinô, son of Ātarô-dâd, son of Mânûskîhar, son of Vohûman-kîhar, son of Fryânô⁹, son of Bâhak¹⁰, son of Frêdûn, son of Fra-

¹ This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

² Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. Baungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

³ Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

⁴ Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

⁵ See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pirtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

⁶ The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A. D. 309-379.

⁷ According to the chronology of the Bundahis (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâi lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

⁸ This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

⁹ Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

¹⁰ This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâhtar¹, son of Pôrushasp, son of Vînâsp, son of Nivar, son of Vakhsh, son of Vahidhrôs, son of Frast, son of Gâk², son of Vakhsh, son of Fryân, son of Ragan, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar³.

4. Mitrô-varâz was son of Nigâs-afzûd-dâk, son of Shirtashôsp, son of Parstva, son of Urvad-gâ, son of Tâham, son of Zarîr, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûs⁴.

5. Dûrnâmîk was son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar⁵, son of Mânûskîhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvid is son of Mardân-vêh⁶, son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht⁷, son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâi, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also was the righteous daughter⁸

¹ This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

² Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name *Skinas* or *Skivas*.

³ See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

⁴ No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

⁵ Here written *Nîdar*, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

⁶ Here written *Mard-vêh*, but see § 8.

⁷ Here written *Aê-vûkht*, but see § 8; it may be *Vîs-bûkht*, or *Vêš-bûkht*.

⁸ The text is *amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôi dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?)*. We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh son of Kahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâi was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvid and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr son of Mâh-bôndak, son of Mâh-bûkht.
 8. Pûyisn-shâd is son of Mardân-vêh, son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht, son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâyîh) were from the same family it is said, and were of this race of Mânûskîhar¹. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call² 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô)³. 11. Yûdân-Yim son of Vâhrâm-shâd, son of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, son of Zâd-sparham⁴,

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

¹ Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

² Reading va lîk laband-i karîfûnd.

³ This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahis were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdistân-i Dînik, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûskîhar, author of the Dâdistân-i Dînik (see the Introduction, § 4).

⁴ The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham

Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim¹, Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd², Ashôvahist son of Freh-Srôsh, and the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I will locate (*gâkînam*) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, which came out into the other six regions.']

having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a):—

'The book *Dînkard* which the *dastûrs* of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mâraspend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the *Dînkard*, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.V. 369.

¹ *Zâd-sparham* was brother of the author of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*; he was high-priest at Sîrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the *Bundahis*, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written *Zâd-sparam*.

² In the history of the *Dînkard*, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to *Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk*, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows:—

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâd son of Hêmîd, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original *Dînkard*, of a thousand chapters' (*mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakô*). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the *Dînkard*, *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*, and *Bundahis*.

CHAPTER XXXIV¹.o. On the reckoning of the years².

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible³; *and* three thousand years⁴ was the duration of Gâyômar, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns⁵ of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômar lived thirty years in tribulation⁶. 3. After the thirty years⁷ Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband⁸, *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang⁹ came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years¹⁰, Takhmôrup¹¹ thirty years, Yim till *his* glory¹² departed six hundred and

¹ This chapter is found in all the MSS.

² TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

³ See Chap. I, 8.

⁴ See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

⁵ This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

⁶ See Chap. III, 21-23.

⁷ That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

⁸ See Chap. XV, 19, 20.

⁹ See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

¹⁰ K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

¹¹ See Chap. XXXI, 2.

¹² So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium¹ reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk² ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn³ *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn *were* the twelve years of Aîrîk; Mânûskîhar⁴ *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)⁵, *were* the twelve years of Frâstyâv; Zôb⁶ the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd⁷ *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp⁸ a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years⁹, altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman¹⁰ *son* of Spend-dâd a hundred and

¹ The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

² See Chap. XXXI, 6.

³ See Chap. XXXI, 7-11.

⁴ See Chap. XXXI, 12-14.

⁵ See Chap. XXXI, 21.

⁶ Written Aûzôbbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

⁷ Usually written Kaî-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

⁸ Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁹ This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâf may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâf Kîhar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâf Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâi, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi son of Kîhar-âzâd¹, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi son of Dârâi fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman² fourteen years.

9. The Askânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years³, Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years⁴, *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

¹ A surname of Hûmâi.

² Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

³ This period is nearly two centuries too short.

⁴ The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226-651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakard. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Yast, which makes the millennium of Zaratûst expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakard. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I-XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I-XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyð-i-khard, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K35 (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

SELECTIONS
OF
Z Â D - S P A R A M.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*kîdakihâ*) of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

o. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (*ya zdân*)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south¹, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness²; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd³. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

¹ Zâd-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).

² See Bund. I, 2-4.

³ Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (*frô-tanû*) on the borders, and meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him ; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others¹, Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory ; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (*drûg*) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom ; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (*patistâd*), and exclaimed thus : ‘ I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.’

7. Aûharmazd answered thus : ‘ Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend² !’

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus : ‘ I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself³.’

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus : ‘ Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

¹ Reading *pavan katârânö ham-tanû*, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

² Bund. I, 16.

³ Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barinînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship¹, for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises².

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula*³; and in his Ahûnavar these⁴ kinds of benefit were shown:—

13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge⁵ owing thereto

¹ Bund. I, 17, 18.

² Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

³ Bund. I, 21.

⁴ The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

⁵ The *Kînvad* or *Kînvar* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own ; which is shown from this¹ *formula*; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed ; by which *it is* shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends ; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (*ârdîk*), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (*nav-barhâm*), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent ; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare ; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation².

¹ The MS. has *hûman*, 'well-meditating,' instead of *denman*, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

² This commentary on the *Ahûnavar*, or *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by *Zâd-sparam*, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows :—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom¹; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind². 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessaries [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

¹ Bund. I, 22.

² Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)¹; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôî-dâdân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting *it*. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakö) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (azö) dies away, *and* this *which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardânö), *she is* upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third² over the star station.

¹ This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

² Compare Bund. III, 11.

CHAPTER II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravardîn *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon¹, he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth², and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered³.

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created⁴, as it stood as high as Gâyômarđ on the

¹ Bund. III, 12.

² Bund. III, 13.

³ Bund. III, 14, 16.

⁴ The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômarđ was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâd-sparam himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâitih¹ in the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômarđ being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâitih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon.

7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye², so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast³ trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômarđ, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat⁴ on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômarđ; and he also brings his sweat⁵ on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night⁷; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

¹ The Dâitîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

² This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

³ See Bund. IV, 1.

⁴ The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hōmanâe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvâe, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of anumâe, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

⁵ Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

⁶ See Bund. I, 21.

⁷ Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens¹; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it².

CHAPTER III.

1. And Gôsûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûhar-mazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together³. 2. And Aû-harmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômarđ, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôsûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

CHAPTER IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

¹ Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

² Bund. III, 24.

³ Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky¹, in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep² of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômarđ is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving³ are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vidâd⁴ upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânö) *and* diseases

¹ Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâd-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

² The word seems to be khvâpisnö.

³ Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardisnânö instead of vardisnânö. A very small alteration would change it into varôisnânö, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

⁴ See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyô-mard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânö) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyô-mard unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries¹; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlist)² at the beginning of the crea-

¹ These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 0-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17-21, XII, 7-10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

² The most obvious meaning of bâlist is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlist

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *Givân* ('living')¹, for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; and Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* *Gâyômarđ* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years² Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus³, on account of whose own lowness⁴, and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, *Gâyômarđ* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

¹ This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read *Snahan*, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read *Nahn* in *Bund. II, 3*, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

² Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

³ That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

⁴ There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has *lâ* instead of *râî*, and *niskasp* instead of *nîsîv*.

CHAPTER V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky¹ he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour²; and the sky in its fortress³ spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' and it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsih). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits⁴ of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries *to* an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation *of the universe at the end of the nine thousand years.*

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus⁵: 'So also

¹ See Chap. III, 2.

² Compare Bund. VI, 2.

³ Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgõ means both.

⁴ Bund. VI, 3, 4.

⁵ This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both these spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of *Gâyômarđ*. Whatever is in life *is so* through this purpose of *Aûharmazd*, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness *is so* through this purpose¹ of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of *Aûharmazd*.'

5. And this was the first contest², *that of* the sky with *Aharman*.

CHAPTER VI.

1. And as he (*Aharman*) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse *Cancer*, he who is the most watery *Tistar*; the equally watery *one*, that is called *Avrak*³, gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

âspji's old MS. of the *Yasna* in *Bombay*, very nearly as closely as *Spiegel's* edition does. It appears, therefore, that *Dâd-sparam* used the same *Pahlavi* translation of the *Yasna* as the *Parsis* do at the present day.

¹ The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

² The word *ârdîk*, which *Dâd-sparam* uses instead of the *kharah*, 'conflict,' of *Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c.*, may be connected with *Pers. ârd*, 'anger.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see *Bund. II, 3, VII, 1*).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year¹.

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôman are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles², who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvô-aê-i dârinô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth³,

¹ Bund. VII, 2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

² Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânô instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânô.

³ Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (*var*); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900¹ long leagues (*parasang-i akarik*), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died², and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tistar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tistar was in terror (*pard*). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tistar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name³, and they call forth such power unto Tistar *as that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (*fravâhar*), he seized many more handfuls of water,

¹ Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

² Bund. VII, 7-14 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

³ The Av. *aokhtô-nâmana yasna* of Tistar Yt. 11, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down¹ much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tistar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (*vispô-vikîr*) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (*kêbarânô*).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting² *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûtîk, the Kamirîd, and the Gêhân-bûn³. 15. Of these the Pûtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb⁴; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (*pavan*) Albûrz⁵, and the Pûtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (*var*) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

¹ Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if *madam vâranînîd* stands for *avar vâranînîd*.

² Reading *partâv* instead of the MS. *patûtâv*, 'powerful fury.'

³ This is a variant of the *Sahî-bûn* or *Gâhî-bûn* of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. *Pûtîk* occurs once, and *Puitîk* twice.

⁴ Compare §§ 15-18 with Bund. XIII, 8-14.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb¹. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (*var*) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind², while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four³ there are the small seas⁴.

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers⁵, which *were* the Arvand⁶—that is, the Diglit, *and* the flow

¹ This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (*gagak dunbak*) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

² By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has *âtarô*, 'fire,' instead of *vâtô*, 'wind.'

³ The ocean and three principal seas.

⁴ Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

⁵ Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

⁶ This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-sparam that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânö)—*and* the Vêh¹ was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen² great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth³, which are called the Kêkast⁴—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnâsp⁵—*and*, secondly, the Sôvar⁶ which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô⁷.

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

¹ See Bund. XX, 9.

² Bund. XX, 2, 7.

³ Bund. VII, 14.

⁴ Bund. XXII, 2.

⁵ Written Gûsnâsp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

⁶ The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

⁷ Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering—Albûrz grew up¹, which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other² mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number³. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years⁴, at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years⁵; in two hundred years it grew up to

¹ Bund. VIII, 1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

² The MS. has âvânö, 'waters,' instead of avârik, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

³ Bund. XII, 2.

⁴ Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

⁵ Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain¹ is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn² ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to Kînistân³.

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation⁴, *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions⁵ a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each* of the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure of *what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (*avîsar*) *around it*. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

¹ The Aparsên of Bund. XII, 9.

² Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

³ Bund. XII, 9, XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of Kînistân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

⁴ Literally, 'creature.'

⁵ Bund. XI, 2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (*kûkhshî-aitö*) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry¹, Amerôdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation² was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tistar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand³ special species and a hundred thousand⁴ additional species (*levatman sardakö*) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for⁵ keeping away the ten thousand³ diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (*sênô mûrûvö*) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which is* the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

¹ This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

² Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

³ Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

⁴ In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

⁵ The MS. has *barâ* instead of *pavan*, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the Huzvâris in Persian, in which language *bih* (= *barâ*) and *bah* (= *pavan*) are written alike. In Pâzand they are usually written *bê* and *pa*, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox¹ passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five² species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd *Nask*³. 2. And every plant grown from a member

¹ See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

² The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

³ This was the fourth *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdaean literature, according to the *Dīnkard*, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the *Dīnf-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth *nask*, and was called *Dvâzdah-hâmâst* (or *homâst*). For its contents, as given by the *Dīnf-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 127. The *Rivâyât* of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other *Rivâyats*, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is *Dvâzdah-homâst*, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (*dar imdâd*, but this is probably a corruption of *dâmdâd*). And this book has thirty-two sections (*kardah*) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow¹ on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn² and sesame, vetches³ and peas; so sesame, on account of ⁴ *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine⁵, a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (*mâys* or *mâsah*) which is called *dônak*, and was a variety of sesame (*sa magâ*)⁶, and *it is* for other noses.

fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.⁷

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahis must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâd-sparam mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâd which also occur in the Bundahis (XIV, 2, 14-18, 21-24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahis was originally a translation of the Dâmdâd, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahis, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâd was still in existence in the time of Dâd-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

¹ Or 'brains.'

² Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

³ Assuming the MS. alûnô or arvanô to be a corruption of alûm or arzanô.

⁴ Reading râf instead of lâ.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

⁶ Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs¹ *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman², and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon³; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*gânvar-hômand*). 8. Forth from there it produced for Airân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female⁴, *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species⁵; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (*âv-dahân*) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering *dônak* and *gûnak* into *gandanak*, and *samagâ* into *samasdar*, we might read, 'from the nose is *mâys*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mâys* unexplained.

¹ The MS. has *gôspendânö*, 'cattle,' instead of *sipandânö*, 'rue herbs.'

² See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

³ Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

⁴ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

⁵ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes¹, that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;'; the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species², as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten³ species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species⁴; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

¹ Bund. XIV, 8-12.

² Bund. XIV, 13-23, 26, 27.

³ Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

⁴ Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed¹ into eight groups (ristakö), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that* of heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâd Nask², and written by me in the manuscript (nipik) of 'the summary enumeration of races'³—this is a lordly⁴ summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them⁵ is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard⁶, the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûrisk *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

¹ Bund. XIV, 25.

² See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahis must be derived from the Dâmdâd.

³ The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aûsmaris-nih-i hangardîkô, but it is not known to be extant.

⁴ Reading marâk (Chaldee מרפק), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâris forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

⁵ Bund. XXIV, 6.

⁶ Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûskîhar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkō), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and less of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftō) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makō) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his¹ serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

CHAPTER X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly *to* Gâyômarđ there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômarđ, the

¹ This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garsakō, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâd-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (*mânsarspend*), as heard from *Gâyômarđ*; and *Aûharmazd*, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (*drûgô*). 2. And when he (*Gâyômarđ*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (*âvğînakô*), and adamant; and on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. *Spendarmad* received the gold of the dead *Gâyômarđ*¹, and it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a *Rivâs-plant*, *Mashya* and *Mashyôî*² came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature and mutually adapted³; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature⁴, *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which *Aûharmazd* created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

¹ Compare Bund. XV, 1.

² The MS. has *Mashâi Mashâyê*, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably *mashya mashyôî* (or *mashyê*), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of *mashya*, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read *Mashyanî* instead of *Mashyôî*.

³ Reading *ham-basnô ham-dakhîk*, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the *ham-badîsn va ham-dasak* of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read *ham-sabîk*, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

⁴ It is evident that *ham-bandišnîh*, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the *ham-basnôîh*, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory¹ or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man², and the glory went spiritually into them.

CHAPTER XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds³, which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzist, the Vâzist, and the Supremely-benefiting. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (*garôdmân*); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals⁴, and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

¹ The old word *nismô*, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into *gadman*, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâd-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahis must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

² Bund. XV, 5.

³ Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the *Spênist* and *Vohu-fryân*, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahis, and the fifth being the *Berezisavang*, which is the first in the Bundahis.

⁴ See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzist is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water¹ and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzist is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire², as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in³ the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânö), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river⁴, wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

¹ Reading mayâ-i afsardîniđö tâftanö instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ asardîniđö âftanö of the MS.

² The Verehrânö âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

³ Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

⁴ Or 'sea' (darîyâvö). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation ¹ the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire ², *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem ³, the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng ⁴, when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêshvar) on the ox Srûvô ⁵, one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô ⁶.

¹ Literally, 'creature.'

² The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, *vargân*, *tagîkô*, and *pûr-sûdô* in Pahlavi.

³ See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

⁴ Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

⁵ Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

⁶ The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-sparam, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsiyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâi-ûs and the hero Sritô (Av. Thrîta). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst before

his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of hôm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as Gâyômarz. The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from Aûharmazd, with another anecdote of Kâi-ûs and Sritô, and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karapân family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Vohûman to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and Aûharmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, Mêdyôk-mâh, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vistâsp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Zâd-sparam consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation of the universe.'

BAHMAN YAST,
OR
ZAND-I VOHŪMAN YASNO,
OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,
THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. D&Z. for Dâdistân-i Dînik. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendidâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A.D. 1496, copied A.D. 1679) in a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

CHAPTER I.

o. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am ¹.

1. As ² it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* ³ that

¹ Or, possibly, 'for whom I am written,' the meaning of *mûn yektîbûnîhêm* being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

² It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, *so* in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS, which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264-271).

³ This was the first *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Sûdkar*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the second *nask*, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard* (which agrees with the account in the *Rivâyats*), see Haug's *Essays*, p. 126. In the *Dînkard*, besides a short description of this *Nask*, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its *fargard*s, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this way, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân¹ thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargard of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows:—

'The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-ratō (Av. tâ ve urvâtâ, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (hazangrôk zim, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâd son of Mârspend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (sarîtarânō), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (girâyîh) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî, Yas. XXVII, 14. W.)'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargard, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

¹ Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, and King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, but they themselves remain for¹ . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshir² the Kayân king (Kaî shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshak-rûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâd³, and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath⁵, and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spitâmân!

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)⁶ of the Vohûman Yast, Horvadað Yast, and Âstâd Yast

¹ A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

² See Chap. II, 17.

³ Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531-579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.

⁴ The epithet *vigârd-vars* may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by *kushâdah muî*, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

⁵ Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

⁶ If there were any doubt about zand meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvadað (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdák son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdân). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*¹, summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the un-deceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise², thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations³.' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared⁴ that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

¹ That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

² The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

³ A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvadað Yt. 10.

⁴ This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me¹ immortal, as the tree opposed to harm², and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made³. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke⁴ thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spitâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap⁵ will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

¹ Or, 'when I shall *become*;' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

² Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardin Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Ardâ-Virâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

³ Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

⁴ The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftôš Aûharmazd, or afaš gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

⁵ According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind¹; *and* Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he² took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratûst during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâdarvakhsh, Brâdrôysnô, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânô, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâdarvakhsh;'; they are described as descendants of the sister of Manûskîhar. In the seventh book of the Dînkard a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratûst in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karapô,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289-291).

¹ K20 has 'among the spirits;'; the word mînisn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

² Reading afaš instead of minas (Huz. of agas, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afaš, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afaš is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form agas, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afaš for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. vaš and ašaš.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*¹ thus: 'I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)² and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and³ he seemed to me exalted.

¹ This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Or else 'dirty.'

³ Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;]¹ and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin]², one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad³ becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver⁴ is the reign of Ardashîr⁵ the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

² Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

³ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

⁵ Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kai), whom¹ they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâd², who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen³ is the reign of Arđakhshîr⁴, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakih)⁵ prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâd of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass⁶, brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askânian king⁷, who removes from the world

¹ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of a mat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

² Contracted here into Spendâd, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

³ This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

⁴ Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226-271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

⁵ Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

⁶ Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

⁷ It is uncertain which of the Askânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*gavid-rastakih*) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh¹ is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr², when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by Ask (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the *Dinkard* (in a passage quoted by Haug in his *Essay on the Pahlavi Language*) mentions Valkhas (Vologeses) the Askânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazda-yasnian religion. This Valkhas was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the *Vendidad*.

¹ I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kalasiyâkâh as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâfk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. skendô-kara, Pers. sikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an Askânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the Askânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

² This Sasanian monarch (A.D. 420-439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight¹ of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâd², when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik³, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!

23. Zaratûst said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratûst! I *will* make *it* clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

¹ Reading vênâp (Pers. bînâb), but it may be va davâg, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

² See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

³ Generally written Mazdak, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâd (or Kavâd, A. D. 487-531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the Bahman Yast, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetic.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east¹, which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world², they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nitûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spitâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vi-shûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion³, truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

¹ Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

² Reading gêhân-zîvö zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

³ This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great]¹ family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny and misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope², and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (*kidyak* or *kasîk*) from his father-in-law³, and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (*vasangtar*); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of *Spendarmad* is more barren, and fuller of highway-

¹ This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

² This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30-32.

³ Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is *khûsrûînê*, followed by some word (probably *nafsmân*) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men¹; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three² will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe³; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (*dêsak*).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect⁴ where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them⁵. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

¹ Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. *tangtar va râs-vânagtar*.

² In Kzo 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar *va vâi*, 'and a portion.'

³ Literally, 'white.'

⁴ Reading *anâzarm* instead of *hanâ âzarm*.

⁵ That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32-35.

Spitāmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear¹ and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread-girdles* on the waist, are then not able to *perform* their ablution (pādīyâvīh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)², he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred twigs* (bare-sôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasât katak)³ it is allowable.

¹ The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

² According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

³ The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36-40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a cêremonial (*yazisn*) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse¹; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty²; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân³ ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable⁴ wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (*kêvid-kêshân*); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (*môg-mardân*), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

¹ The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

² The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

³ The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. have misread *azîr damîk*, 'underground,' instead of *âzarmîk*.

words of random speakers (andêzö-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take¹ an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning² one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five³ sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation⁴, so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

¹ Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

² Reading râf instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

³ The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

⁴ Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast *of burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully¹ and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*kārbist*); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who wear the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*gasnô*) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (*aûsôfrîd*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

¹ The word appears to be darđaktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûtaktar, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahôđ, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow]¹ they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have revered the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (*bar-hamakō rûbīsn*) those ways and customs², and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable³, who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family⁴ as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them⁵ nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarmad opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (*Atûr*) of the army⁶, and are turbulent as among the moun-

¹ This verb is omitted in K20.

² It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

³ Or *dahâkân* may mean 'the skilful.'

⁴ Reading *dûdak* instead of *rûdak*. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds *dû* and *rû* also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

⁵ Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

⁶ Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading *hênô*, 'army,' but another possible reading is *Khyôn* (Av. *Hvyaona*), the old name

taineers¹; and the *Kîni*², the *Kâvûlt*, the *Sôfti*, the *Rûman* (*Arûmâyak*), and the white-clothed *Karmak*³ then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, and their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones⁴ and Arabs (*Tâzigân*) and *Rûmans* to them, and they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one⁵ in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

of some country probably in Turkistân, as *Argâsp*, the opponent of *Vistâsp*, is called 'lord or king of *Khyôn*' in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân* (see also *Gôr Yt.* 30, 31, *Ashi Yt.* 50, 51, *Zamyâd Yt.* 87).

¹ Or, 'as the mountain-holding *Khûdarak*.' Darmesteter suggests that *Khûdarak* may be an 'inhabitant of *Khazar*.'

² Probably the people of *Samarkand*, which place was formerly called *Kîn* according to a passage in some MSS. of *Tabari's Chronicle*, quoted in *Ouseley's Oriental Geography*, p. 298. See also *Bund.* XII, 22.

³ The *Kâbulî* and Byzantine *Rûman* are plain enough; not so the *Sôfî* and *Karmak* (*Kalmak* or *Krimak*).

⁴ That is, the *Tûrks*, as appears more clearly from *Chap. III*, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in *Chap. III*, 9, 51.

⁵ Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter¹, and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad² arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart² thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

¹ The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

² Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator!'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)² with the *sacred twigs* (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred twigs*, though not as in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-âd-yazam (Av. ithâ âd yazamaidê, Yas.V and XXXVII)³ and one Ashem-vohû⁴, and has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâzdah-hômâst⁵ with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

¹ This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

² Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

³ The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁵ For the following explanation of the various kinds of hómâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hómâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hómâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tistar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is revered for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hómâst, 'one hómâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha-hymns are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-hymns consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâsiyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P.M. to 6 A.M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hômâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hômâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve aforesaid and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôs, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is revered as in the last.

The celebration of hômâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven¹ towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will be* ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Padashkhvârgar², and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever³ of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

¹ So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in Kzo the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than sibâ, 'seven.'

² The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

³ This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yênhê hâtâm âad, yêsnê paitî,
vaghô mazdau ahurô vaêthâ, ashâd hakâ,
yaughhâmkâ, tâskâ tauskâ yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair¹, of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened² sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath³ there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh⁴ of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân⁵;' Mâh-

¹ The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

² Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

³ The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

⁴ This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

⁵ I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arû-mâyik), and Rôshan¹ said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile², *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâspîh of Kili-syâkih, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand³, some have said⁴ the Frât⁵ river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân; ' they are Greeks by strict reckoning⁶,

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcilable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

² The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

³ Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

⁴ Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said; ' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

⁵ The Euphrates.

⁶ Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking-holes* (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath¹ in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader² is an extending enemy of the Tûrk³ and even the Karm⁴, be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkih come forth with simultaneous movement⁵, and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (ârdîh), O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs⁶, when through

may be sâkht gumâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

¹ It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

² Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

³ The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

⁴ Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kurd and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kurd is meant.

⁵ Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasisnih.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kaî-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, and King Vistâsp and Argâsp¹, miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest²"),' some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this³ place,' some have said the plain of Nisânak⁴. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padâshkhvârgar⁵, owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padâshkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp⁶, on the deep Lake Kêkâst which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padâshkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating⁷,' 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

¹ See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

² See Bund. XXIV, 16.

³ Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

⁴ The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

⁵ See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Elsewhere called Gûrnâsp, Gûrnâsp, or Gûrâsp (see SZS. VI, 22).

⁷ The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûhar-mazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium¹.

with the word *kithra*, which means both *pêdâk*, 'clear,' and *tôkhmak*, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym *mâyakîk*, which can be written exactly like *mâhîk*. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of *Padashkhvârgar*.

¹ This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22-III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was $90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016$ years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish¹?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hûshêdar son of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân².

14. It is when he comes to his conference *with me*³, Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of Kînistân⁴, *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (ka); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593-595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593-635 to A. D. 1593-1635.

¹ The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

² See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

³ The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

⁴ Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand¹, some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd² *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâd³ is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and Kîni⁴, having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed⁵ as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambö⁶—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within *its* bank,

¹ Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. *varekanghand*, compare Pers. *varg*), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Tistrya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayâniâns, the Kayâniâns themselves, and the hero Thrîta. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn; but see §§ 32, 49.

² A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas, XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

³ The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahîs (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

⁴ That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

⁵ Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read *tâgend* or *tâvend*. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17-44, except one or two isolated phrases.

⁶ Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)¹ and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed, some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Padashkhvârgar², some have said from the Hirâtis³ and Kôhistân; some have said from Taparistân⁴; and from those directions *every* supplicant for a child⁵ comes into⁶ view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Padashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee⁷ that they call both Kurd and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambö, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S.E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

¹ Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

² That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

³ Reading Hiriyan, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânö), or defiles (khalakânö), of Kôhistân.'

⁴ See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

⁵ That is, every man able to bear arms.

⁶ Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

⁷ See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kurd or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army¹ of Shêdâspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand², wage three battles, one in Spêd-razûr³ and one in the plain of Nisânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv⁴ the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners⁵ is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton⁶; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking-holes*⁷ of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

and whom they call both Kurd and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

¹ Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

² That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvand). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

³ See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

⁴ Marv in the present Turkistân.

⁵ Referring to § 17.

⁶ Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

⁷ Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dîdak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the drugô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Aresûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time¹, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created².

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear³, *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous⁴ unto Kangdez⁵, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh⁶ formed, *and to* Kîtrô-miyân⁷ son of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht⁸ *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

¹ Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

² The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

³ See Chap. II, 36.

⁴ The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêzar's millennium (see § 51).

⁵ See Bund. XXIX, 10.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25.

⁷ A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-mafnô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

⁸ This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînf-vagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The *Dīnkarā*, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask:—

‘The *Hādōkht* as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the *Ahunavar*, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in *Aūharmazd*, and of the worldly existences in *Zaratūst*, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate* at the *celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight (?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of *Aūharmazd*'s opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

‘The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *Kakâd-i-Dâitik*¹ to Kangdez, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *Kîtrô-miyân* son of Vistâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the *Dvâzdah-hômâst*, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words*: "Hûmat, hûkht, hûvarst²," and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the *Hâdôkht* which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division* has nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent *Hâdôkht*, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratûst. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (*Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî*).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Yast fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the *Dînkard*. For a description of *Dvâzdah-hômâst* see Chap. II, 59.

¹ See Bund. XII, 7.

² That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâdôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the rchangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman - hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")¹, which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvadad, and Amerôdad, and the ceremonial (yazisn) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvadad and Amerôdad, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)² demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô³, to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*⁴; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear⁵, and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkairyâd⁶ with the archangels, and I issue

¹ See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

² See Chap. II, 37.

³ Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3-9, SZS. XI, 8-10.

⁴ Supplying the word sêdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. II, 36. ⁶ Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm¹ the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazda-yasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*² to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written³.

33. 'Out of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth⁴, thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâstiyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander⁵ the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce⁶."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

¹ The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

² This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

³ Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

⁴ Or, 'stand up with honesty!'

⁵ The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

⁶ From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêzar's millennium, about A. D. 1593-1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (*yazisn*), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell¹. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river²; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandid-khîm³ ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

¹ Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

² The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

³ Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads¹, and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives² away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrân-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory³ of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family⁴ of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar⁵.

¹ The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

² Merely a guess, as the verb *varafsêd* is difficult to understand.

³ K20 has *nismô*, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written *gadman*, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

⁴ Reading *dûdak* instead of *rûdak*, as in Chap. II, 47.

⁵ The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600¹, and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, and receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse², thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the *Dînkard* very much as they are found in the Persian *Rivâyats*. The *Dînkard* states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see *Bund. XXXII*, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

¹ There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the *Dînkard* asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A. D. 593-635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A. D. 1193-1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19-22) was expected to begin about A. D. 1253-1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A. D. 1593-1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

² The usual epithet of the sun in the *Avesta*.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Frada-dafsh and Vidadafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras¹."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, and Vargâvand² and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû³ son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control⁴ the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

¹ The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

² It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

³ See §§ 25-30.

⁴ This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*¹ till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh² the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin³; and Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (*rad*) of the world⁴. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife⁵.

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite⁶ on to the moun-

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

² See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêdar-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

³ Av. *azikithra*; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56-61).

⁴ As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

⁵ The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

⁶ The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand¹, which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when² this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed³?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk⁴ stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot⁵, and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

¹ Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

² Reading a mat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

³ The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

⁴ Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

⁵ The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp¹; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet Az-i Dahâk. 61. And² Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him*; afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium³. 62. Then Sôshyans⁴ makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânö)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

¹ Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pêsyânsaî (see Bund. XXIX, 7-9).

² Reading *afas* instead of *mînas* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

³ The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The *Dînkard* and the Persian *Rivâyats* recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshêzar (see note on § 43).

⁴ See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Arzâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-kharz, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A.D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am ¹.

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad ² that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

¹ See the note on B. Yt. I, o.

² Referring to Vend. IV, 54-114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanô, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54-57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

· 'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirist, that is, Avôirist is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûr, that is, Aredûr is implanted in him and the Avôirist merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûr the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirist¹, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar². 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (*avar-khûrshêdîh*) and in the forenoon (*kâîfîh=kâstîh*) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (*rêsh*). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.³

This description does not mention Bâzâi and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâi occurs in Pahl. Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

¹ Also written avôirist, avîrist, avîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

² Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, areduš, hvara, and tanuperetha (*per-tôtanu* or *peshôtanu*). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person*; Avôirist, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*; when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâi as "smiting," and Yât as "going to," and the soul of man ought to be withstanding, as a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. In like manner Âgerept, Avôirist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, and are called by the names of weights and measures in the same manner. Of *peshôtanus tanûm pairyêitê* the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stirs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*gûḡan*)¹; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (*tâzânö*), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham²; an Aredûs is thirty *stîrs*³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâl is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs⁴.

the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* where-with it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

¹ The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called *δραχμή* and *στατήρ*.

² The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1-3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Pârsis, therefore, read *vîhast* (as an irregular form of *vîst*, 'twenty') instead of *vêst-ast*, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 88) from the Rivâyât MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyât makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

³ All MSS. have *Aredûs sî 30*, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

⁴ All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith¹ there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114-122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58-114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Ava-oirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hvara*), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

¹ In M6 pôryôdkêshîh, but pôryôdkêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryôdkaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardin Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsp¹ spoke otherwise than the teaching² (*kâstak*) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd³, and Sôshyans⁴ *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâi⁵, and Mêdôk-mâh⁶ *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsp⁷, and Afarg⁸ *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

¹ One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsp.

² Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

³ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

⁴ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20-22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôs by Pâzand writers.

⁵ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

⁶ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mêdyôk-mâh or Mâdôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Vagarkard-i Dînik professes to have been compiled by Mêdyôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

⁷ Gôsp in M6.

⁸ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six¹ teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

¹ Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâd, son of Dâd-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâd-mard nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâd Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâd-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâd-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhō thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtânō-bûgêd in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kirmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtânō-bûgêd in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâd or Mâh-vindâd in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mard-bûd in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâd-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâf Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakhth-âfrîdō (possibly the Bakht-âfrîd of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargard ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh¹ it is declared that when life is resigned without effort², at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasûs³ rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasûs is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasûs⁴, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁵, and the rû kûnik⁶;

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

¹ Alluding probably to Mêdôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-dîd or dog-gaze, does not mention Mêdôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

² Reading amat barâ zôr gân dâd. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâd, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

³ The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38-48). The carcase of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption Nasûs or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111-228, IX, 4-117.

⁴ This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁵ See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

⁶ Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the *rûkûnik* there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd¹ asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the *Nasûs* at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*². 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw³ on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*⁴. 5. The birds which destroy the *Nasûs* are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture⁵; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*⁶.

is translated by *hûkar* or *hûkûr* in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (*kûr*) dog' in the Persian *Rivâyats*; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the *rûkunîk* also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

¹ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

² This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁴ The Persian *Rivâyats* say this is because the *Nasûr* is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

⁵ These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (*dâlman*) for the vulture.

⁶ This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian *Rivâyats* state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the *Nasûr* is not destroyed. *Dastûr Jâmâspji* is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men¹, both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*², and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma³. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûr was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

¹ This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûr, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

² A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1-145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bareshnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum paiti-hinkêdis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

³ The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvârîr name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(paḍvīshak)¹ two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper². 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

¹ Dastūr Jāmāspji prefers reading patōshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of paḍvīshak (Av. paiti + vīsh) is plain enough.

² That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastūr Jāmāspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter¹, or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up², for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death³. 10. When clouds have been around⁴, it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhliṣ) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nīṣak) inside⁵, *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mēdōk-mâh⁶ says that there should be a shelter (var)⁷ *one* should

¹ In the terms *avî-dashtânō* and *avî-nasâf* the compound *av* is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

² K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

³ That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

⁴ Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare *hâmûn* with Pers. *âmûn* (*âman*), *amân*, or *hâmân*.

⁵ Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

⁶ See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

⁷ From Av. *var*, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. *gullah*, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below¹; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargard of the Vendidad of Mēdōk-māh² they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground³, the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambūnikē), in like manner down unto the water⁴. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted⁵;

an umbrella (avargash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

¹ Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read a vîr, 'very,' instead of agîr, 'below;'; these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² Quoting again from his lost commentary.

³ Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

⁴ This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

⁵ K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûi) are *to be treated* just like stone¹.

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)², when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)³ in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet⁴ to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhik).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîâ⁵ *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;’ but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

¹ This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

² Or ‘an upper floor;’ Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, ‘when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.’

³ See note on Chap. III, 32.

⁴ The gâm, ‘step,’ being 2 feet 7½ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

⁵ Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rîâ-aê instead of rîâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (*varam*), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (*para kân*), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down; it is allowable when they dig *it* up¹, and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he has* fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright and shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he has* fallen².

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

¹ That is, the floor of the apartment; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

² The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâi). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it is* a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body¹. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd)².

30. When a corpse (nasâi-1)³, from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbö) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted⁴. 32. When *it is*

¹ K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

² The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

³ Nasâi (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

⁴ Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil¹, and dead matter (*nasâi*), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry² it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (*garzak*) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (*padvîshak*). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (*mâlisn*) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (*shâyad*) on making *it* dry³.

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (*ravisn*) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

¹ Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called *dabar*, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

² Assuming that *khûskar* stands for *khûsk-kar*, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

³ Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (*khûskar*).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter¹ comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted².

38. *At a house in which the sacred ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes³ away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry it away within three steps of the corpse⁴, even then it is to be carried away, and the*

¹ Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

² That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

³ The verb *vidardanō* (Huz. *vabrūntanō*), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. *vi+tar*, Pers. *gudhastan*), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb *mūrdanō* (Huz. *yemītūntanō*), 'to die, to expire' (Av. *mar*, Pers. *murdan*), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

⁴ Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan¹ said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdih)² the wall³. 40. To bring the fire within⁴ the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death⁵. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

² Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurdah Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

³ The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

⁴ That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

⁵ A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month¹. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)², too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)³ and butter (gum)⁴ *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer⁵ clothing Vand-Aôharmazd⁶ said that it is usable in the length of nine nights or a month; the writer⁷ (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungînak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

¹ According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

² Av. zaôthra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

³ The Av. gâus gîvya, 'product of the living cow,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hôm-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

⁴ Compare Pers. kâtîm, 'fat;,' it is the Av. gâus hudhau, 'product of the well-yielding cow,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

⁵ Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

⁶ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

⁷ There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâk), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires¹ alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth².

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire³ become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar⁴ through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it*; and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

¹ Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

² See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

³ Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution¹ inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his* body and clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin².

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tikhak amâr) when the life departs³; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta⁴, the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one*; the curse (gazîsn)⁵ which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans⁶ said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs⁷; a priest, a

¹ That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâvîh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

² Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

³ Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

⁴ Referring to Vend. V, 82-107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

⁵ Meaning, probably, the Nasûs, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82-107.

⁶ See Chap. I, 3.

⁷ That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1-4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanō-bûgêd¹ said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanō-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâi)² it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog³ cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)⁴ is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanō-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

² The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

³ As Vend. V, 108-112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

⁴ The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hām-raêthwayêiti and paîti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when¹ *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh² indirect pollution cleaves to *one in* the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape³ and a menstruous woman, not acting the same way, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight⁴; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*⁵ is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasât) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

² Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

³ Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

⁴ That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

⁵ The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death¹ at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasâi); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*kâr va tûbânö*) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much², and *for* the death and sickness³ of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means⁴, for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted⁵, and are to be washed for them with ceremony (*pîsak*)⁶. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all⁷ by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

¹ That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (*marg-argân*).

² Reading *ves* as equivalent to *vêr*.

³ Reading *râkhtakîh* (compare Pers. *rakhtah*, 'sick, wounded').

⁴ This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I,) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

⁵ This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

⁶ That is, with the *Bareshnûm* ceremony.

⁷ This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)¹ a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar² *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake³; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr⁴ for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all⁵—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

¹ The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

² See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

³ See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁵ See § 66.

72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (*dûs*) was there when he came by¹, or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (*aesamdân*) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless².

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (*hamkâr*)³; as to a door which is mostly closed (*badtûm*)⁴ they have been of different opinions,

¹ Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

² This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

³ Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. *badtûm*, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written *vadâtûm* or *vatûm* in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of *nâtûm*, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of *bêtmân*, a possible variant of *bêtâ*, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. *bendvô*. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. *bîdûn*, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of *bîrûn*. The view taken here is that *badtûm* stands for *bandtûm*, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in *sag* for *sang*, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôsp¹ said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânö)², and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever³; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot⁴; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one.

77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside⁵; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth⁶. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

³ See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66.

⁵ See Vend. VI, 80.

⁶ That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry away with *the dead matter*¹.

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out². 80. Sôshyans³ said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when⁴ he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar⁵. 81. Kûshtanö-bûgêd⁶ said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it* he is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsasp⁷ said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, he is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside⁸, for it makes the clothing

¹ The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65-71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

² See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

³ See Chap. I, 3.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ See Chap. I, 3.

⁸ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so¹; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for².

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (*min zak frâg*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, *Mard-bûd*³ said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; *Rôshan* said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable⁴; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

¹ So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

² That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

³ It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but *Mard-bûd* occurs in the *Nirangistân* as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

⁴ See *Pahl. Vend.* VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger², and that has not come *on it as* a danger. 89. Mēdōk-māh¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted³. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness⁴ he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mēdōk-māh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

⁴ These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (*pûdak*), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (*gômêz*), and with dust and moisture (*nambö*) *they* are clean¹. 93. And *they* are to be torn off² by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one *Tanâpûhar*.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not³ allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless⁴, this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose⁵ (*barâ vishûpênd*), and of that on which the excretions (*hikhar*) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away⁶, and the rest is to be

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

² Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. *neskhûntanö* must be traced to Chald. ܢܫܩܢܐ 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent *vîkhtanö* (Av. *viç*) ought to be compared rather with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to bruise or break,' than with *bêkhtan* or *pêkhtan*, 'to twist.'

³ This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

⁵ Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of *vishûpênd* appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

⁶ As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*¹. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mah-mānīh)² is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta³. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômêš), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun⁴; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armêst)⁵ who has not performed

¹ Khshvâs-mâtûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshvas maunghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash it out six times with bull's urine, they should scour it six times with earth, they should wash it out six times with water, they should fumigate it six months at the window of the house.'

² See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

³ That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

⁴ See Vend. VII, 35.

⁵ A Persian gloss defines armêst as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armêst, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armêst (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rī) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armêst as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on *it*¹, is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (*tadak*); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth*; and woven clothing is to be washed six times².

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests³ upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (*mêsh*) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (*bûp*) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (*namad*) and is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (*nikid*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool⁴ is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug⁵. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean⁶.

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

² As mentioned in a note on § 95.

³ Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as *nasâf* means both or either of them.

⁴ That is, laid upon wool.

⁵ See § 101.

⁶ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her¹; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pīśak-shinās), ashes² and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*³, although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan⁴ said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâdīyâvīh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter⁵, its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

¹ That is, she cannot be purified.

² Reading var (see note on § 49).

³ Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

⁴ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean¹. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean². 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times³. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvgrînak)⁴ it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâi) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârid)⁵, amber, the

¹ The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

² This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

³ See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

⁵ Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise¹, the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood²; and when they are taken into use there is no washing³, and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two *finger-breadths*⁴—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it*; and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans⁵ said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

¹ This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

² Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain *vessels* are impure for everlasting.'

³ Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

⁴ That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve *finger-breadths*, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72-82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing¹.
 119. About corn² they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits³, or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (*afsta*) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsp⁴ said: 'Should it be *so* *it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut⁵, through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (*pôst va mazg*) is just like *that of* wood.

121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk⁶ is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (*âstak*) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

¹ Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

² According to Vend. VII, 83-93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

³ Reading *dên gôpân farôstak*; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is *dên gôpân âvist*, 'concealed in pits.'

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

⁶ The word is *kûrâpak* or *kûrâzak*, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâvisnô) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmisnô) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron¹. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rikâr) there is no washing².

CHAPTER III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted³. 2. When a bed-chamber (shâd-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two⁴, *and*

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâv) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâvisnô) with the citron.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

³ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

⁴ This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use.

3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever¹.

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose², first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*kambar*), and then the *outer* garments (*gâmak*) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes³.

6. When she knows for certain (*a êvar*) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (*gûharidanö*) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation⁴, a prayer is to

¹ §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

² Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the *dashtân-istân*, or place of retirement for the unclean.

³ Reading *mask va salmfhâ*, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be *muskö*, 'musk,' and the other can be read *sharmgâh*, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

⁴ The *dashtânistân*, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps ($39\frac{1}{2}$ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*¹. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained² *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (*avīgûmân*), and now *she* is certain³. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, and a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her⁴.

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (*pâdiyâv*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (*apâdiyâv*) by *her* look⁵, and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (*khânak-i babâ*), when a menstruous woman is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1-10).

¹ This kind of prayer (*Av. vâk*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. *vâg*, Pers. *bâz*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or *vâg* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

² K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

³ The meaning is, however, uncertain.

⁴ The Pahlavi text is as follows: Amat *vâg yakhsenunêd*, *pê-sînkâr* (Pers. *pêsyâr*) *barâ yâtunêd*, *as vâg gûftanô kâr lôit mamas nask-i pavan kamisn yemalelunisnô*. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâdîyâv)¹; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman²; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâdîyâvdân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding³ and garments of any one, Sôshyans⁴ said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

² Or, possibly, ham nêsmân may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (gavîd-vasnô), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading gavîd-vasnô (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

³ Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tîhik), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter¹.

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasâi), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vada.s), from the forty days² onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhik) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing³. 18. When she *has* become *free*

¹ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

² The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2-4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135-159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

³ The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness for nine days and nights,—these days and nights are for watching,—and then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days and nights are completed, on the same day washing is good¹.

19. Of leucorrhœa (*kîharak*)², when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before and also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (*dastôbarag hâe*), she does not make the *sacred twigs* (*baresôm*), nor even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable for *her* to sit out towards³ the fire; and while she washes a prayer (*vâg*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her⁴, and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (*gômêz*), is not proper till *then*; and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation⁵, and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

¹ In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25-28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

² Av. *kithra*, see explanation of *kîharak-hômmand* (Av. *kithra-vand*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

³ *Dastûr Jâmâspji* reads *val bavan-i âtâsh*, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

⁴ See § 6, note.

⁵ Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (*nasâi yehevûntanö*) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say¹, moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony².

25. And for any one³ who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs⁴. 26. And for whomsoever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs⁵.

27. Of a menstruous woman who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân⁶, and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself⁷ *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes⁸ and *water* goblet⁹. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

¹ Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

² See Chap. II, 65.

³ Reading *aîs* instead of *adînas*, 'then for him.'

⁴ That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

⁵ According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a *peshôtanu* (Pahl. *tanâpûhar*). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

⁶ See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

⁷ Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

⁸ That *libûsyâ* means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is *Huzvâris* for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

⁹ Reading *dûbalak*; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation¹, *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house² in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman³.

31. A tray-cloth (khvânõ gâmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pataskhûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper⁴.

32. When *one*⁵ wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)⁶, when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

¹ The demoness Gêh (see Bund. III, 3-9).

² By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâs dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

³ See § 12.

⁴ Fit to use again.

⁵ Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

⁶ The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)¹ from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

¹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâî (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstik or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man¹. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels*; and the person (*valman*) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her². 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (*shnûmanê*)³ of the consecration of sacred cakes (*drôn yast*) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her*; some say the *Ithâ and Ashem-vohû*⁴.

CHAPTER IV.

I. A *sacred thread-girdle* (*kûstîk*), should it be made of silk (*parvand*), is not proper; the hair (*pashm*) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the *kûstîk* or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399).

¹ See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

² See Vend. XVI, 11-14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

³ This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on *drôn*, and Chap. VII, 8).

⁴ The *Ithâ* is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the *drôn yast* or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on *drôn*). The *Ashem-vohû* is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other hairy creatures* (mûyîñô) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzik). 2. The least fulness¹ necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-breadths; when *it* is exactly three finger-breadths altogether² from one side, and when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*³ and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, and it is not proper⁴.

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkô) and figured silk (parnikânô) is not good for girdling⁵; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood⁶ is proper for shirting (sapîkih). 5. Four finger-breadths of shirt⁷ is the measure of *its* width *away*

¹ Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgewise from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

² Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôêšman-â-rôêšman being Huzvâris for sarâsar.

³ That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâš or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

⁴ The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

⁵ This word, ayîbyâêg,hânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwyaunghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

⁶ Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

⁷ The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (*parik*); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened¹, are not proper; when on the separation (*dûrmânak*) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (*kûstik*), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (*vishâdakih*)².

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to³ running about uncovered⁴.

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered⁵; *and* the sin of unseasonable

¹ Assuming that *aftabarîd* stands for *astabarîd*; the Huz. *aft* being substituted for the Pâz. *ast*. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

² That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8-10).

³ K20 has *lâ*, 'not,' instead of *râî*, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

⁴ This sin is called *vishâd-dûbârisnîh*; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

⁵ Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter¹ arises after fifteen years of age². 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar³ *sin*.

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (*gurs*)⁴ *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot⁵ as far as four steps is

¹ This sin is called *drâyân-gûyisnîh*, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (*vâg*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the *vâg*.

² This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a *Srôshô-karanâm*, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three *steps*. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it is counted* from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

⁴ Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

⁵ This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called *aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh* or *khadû-mûk-dûbârisnîh*, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that *aê-mûk*, 'one boot,' was formerly written *avî-mûk*, 'without boots;' and no doubt *avî* is sometimes written exactly like *khadû*, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of *avî* into *agvi*). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one¹ movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnih); and *there were some* who said *it is* a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû², and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms³; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avimûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

¹ Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

² See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

³ The Av. sraoshô-karana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-karanâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decrease occurs, his renunciation of *sin* is accomplished¹.

CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter² that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a *Srôshô-karanâm* there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl. Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a *Farmân*, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a *Farmân*, and the *Farmân* is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three *Srôshô-karanâms* as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a *Srôshô-karanâm*, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the *Srôshô-karanâm* is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. *sraoshô-karana* it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one *Srôshô-karanâm* is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. VI, 15, three *Srôshô-karanâms* in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five *Srôshô-karanâms* in XVI, 8.

¹ *Patîtkîh*, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the *Patî*, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

² See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent¹, it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father². 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (yastô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû³, and does not say *them*, it is the root of unseasonable chatter for him⁴; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrîd), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (yazisnô); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*⁵; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms⁶. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop* of urine is not completed⁷. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

¹ That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

² Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ See Chap. III, 35.

⁴ Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

⁶ Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

⁷ Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâg) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg¹ said this degree is slighter; Mēdôk-mâh² said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to³ saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mēdôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)⁴ does not become Gêtô-kharîd⁵; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)⁶ for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it*; and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion⁶.'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter⁷; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

³ During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

⁴ Generally written Gêtî-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

⁵ The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

⁶ Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

⁷ By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not¹.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (*armêst*)², though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (*nafsmān*) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst³. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (*ahambûnikê*) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them*; but should commit the sin not really originating with *him*; when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (*vahist*), when the sin

¹ That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

² That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

³ This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. *zarazdâiti* may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)¹. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-karanâms² more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)³, when his ceremony (yast) is per-

¹ That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ardâ-Virâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5-12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-karanâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

² Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

³ This appears to be another name for Garôzmân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahist, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII-X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9-12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvarst for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garôzmân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dûs-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dûs-hûkht for evil words, Dûs-hûvarst for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed¹. 4. Sôshyans² said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one³ Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân⁴. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence⁵.'

6. Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that an infidel (ak-dinô)⁷, when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

¹ That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

² See Chap. I, 3.

³ Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcilable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

⁵ A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (*dād*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those of* the Sīnik congregation¹; of a vile

¹ It is not easy to identify this Sīnik *vaškardīh*, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistān and western China, whence they may have been called Sīnik (the country of the Sēnī, Av. Sāini, being identified with Kīnistān or China in Bund. XV, 29, because ZŠin is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the *Dīnkard* (see Dastūr Pēshōtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arūm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mānih from Turkistān. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of *Mas'aūdf*, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistān as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '... the Turks, the Khuzlug, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kūsān, situated between Khurāsān and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of *īrkhān* ("sub-khān?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Māni.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandik¹, the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanö)².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanö) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night³; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sinîk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sinîk vaskardîh into nisînîk (or vidînîk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

¹ A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharmân and the demons.'

² Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanö-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

³ Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop¹, at the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully revered by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be revered again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*², then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun *for* him³.

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stîrs⁴. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁵; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner⁶. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

¹ K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

² That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

³ Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

⁴ That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

⁵ That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

⁶ The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (*dâd*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (*na-sûs*)¹ *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (*shnûman*)² of fire, it is allowable to perform one '*âthrô*' by itself, and, when two *and* the '*mađ vîspaêibyô âterebyô*,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere³; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

¹ That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

² A *shnûman* or *khshnûmanö* (Av. *khshnûman*) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month constitute the *Sîrôzah*, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

³ The propitiation of fire (as given in *Sîrôz. I, 9, Âtar Nyâis 5, 6*) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word *âthrô*, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words *mađ vîspaêibyô âterebyô*, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish¹ a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed², and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers³ is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

¹ Literally, 'kill.'

² The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

³ Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin relating to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23-26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *Kinvad* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (*radân*), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (*avaspôrik*). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (*marg-argân*) is to be confessed (*garzisonö*) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body¹; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (*farhâng*) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (*nakhêtr kardânö*); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stirs².

murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be *hamêmâl* sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be *rûbânîk* sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but *hamêmâlân* occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; *hamêmâlîh* in III, 119; and *rûbânîk* in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

¹ By committing a *marg-argân* or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the *rad*, or high-priest.

² This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M₅ about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 *rûpîs*, and that 2 dirhams were 2½ *tolas*; this was written in A. D. 1723, when neither the *rûpî* nor the *tola* were of uniform amount, though now the *rûpî* is exactly a *tola* weight of silver. As the *stîr* was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred stîrs would have been 1380 *rûpîs* or 1350 *tolas* of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M₅; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350-1380 *rûpîs*; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation of *sin*¹, is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (*aêrpat*) does not know *it* the merit (*kirfak*) of the ceremonial goes to the store (*gang*) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (*aêvâk*) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (*marg-argânö*) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (*dastôbarih*) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him*; and when they inflict punishment for three nights², he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot³, and the three *nights'* (*satûih*) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

¹ That is, in those cases when they do not have the *yazisn* performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

² This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Reading *pavan gînâk*; but *Mô* marks the phrase as *pavan dînâk* (for *dînâ*), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûih) does not affect him¹. 7. And if *he does not engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment².

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patitih) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him³, is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnô) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked⁴ by him, *and* not to be kept⁵ secret by him; for when he shall overlook⁶, or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

¹ That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûih, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158-160, AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9).

² The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

⁴ Reading avênisnô, but the word can also be read khunînisnô, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

⁵ Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

⁶ Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-karanâms¹; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-karanâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise². 10. Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst³ had remarked (pêdâkînid) to a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation of sin!' and one⁴ time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshih) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*⁵ this, that of those who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarih), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin being easy for him, and his having controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

¹ Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

² Or 'many other things.'

³ This Âtarô-pâd-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkard. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâd mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâd used to be.

⁴ Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

⁵ Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang¹ said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation of *sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same² opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever a *sin* is not even mentally originating with one³ a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (*margargân*) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on⁴ the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell⁵ is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (*sûd*) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (*rad tûgîsn*) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (*drûbô*).'

14. When his sin is committed against (*dên*)

¹ This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

² K20 has *hômanam*, 'I am,' instead of *ham*, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading *am*, 'I am,' for *ham*.

³ This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

⁴ Reading *pavan*, 'on,' instead of *barâ*, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

⁵ Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers¹ it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (*mītrak*) shall not become evil-minded², and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring³ *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation of the *sin* before the high-priests (*radân*), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked⁴; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (*kâvênd*) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (*pâyak*) is atoned for; some say that the stem (*pâyakghih*) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul⁵, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (*satûih*) punishment. 17. Kûshtanö-bûgêd⁶ said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

¹ Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

² Reading *dûsmînân* instead of the unmeaning *dûsmîyân* of the MSS.

³ Reading *yâftyûnâ* instead of the unmeaning *yâftam* of the MSS.; *ã* being often written very much like *m* in Pahlavi.

⁴ This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

⁵ That is, *rûbânîk* sin (see § 1, note).

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôśâi Bûrz-Mitrô¹ spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (*marg-argânân*), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as renders them improper for firewood, and a man when his wife becomes pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (*dên*) water, and kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (*dên*) fire for that *against* water it is proper², and when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper to be killed. 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar³ is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (*drôn*), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁴, it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (*marg-argân*), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (*rad*) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (*sûd*) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (*mank*) 'yazemna⁵ kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note.

² A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

⁵ Written *izimn* in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânō) of good works, and the worship of God (yazīsn-i yazdânō) is to be performed for him¹. 23. Âtarō-pâd² son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-gân-dâdihâ), and when one engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts³.

¹ It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

² Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the *Dînkard* (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

³ The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry¹ (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (virân)²; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country³. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered⁴ by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

¹ Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

² K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

³ That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) which they perform in a fire-temple¹, when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation of *sin*², the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (*kastik*) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (*padvishak*), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (*khazânih*).

8. This, too, *is declared*: 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*gînâk*) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada³ and Amerôda³; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada³ and Amerôda³, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

¹ Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

² K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

³ The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25-29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day¹.

9. In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâzôn Nask² it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

¹ This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

² This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazda-yasnian literature, according to the Dīnkard, which calls it Pâzi or Pâzag; but according to the Dīnī-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâgam. For its contents, as given by the Dīnī-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dīnkard (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dīnkard before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzi (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (*vôighn*) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be revered.

The fifth fargard, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (*yazdân*):—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (*zîfânö*)¹, *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels² will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (*yazisnö*), at the beginning of the ceremony³, and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (*drôn*)⁴, the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

¹ K20 has *hûzvân*, 'tongue, speech,' for *zîfân*, 'faulty' (compare Pers. *zîf*, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

² K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

³ That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper *Khshnûmans*, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

⁴ This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper *Khshnûmans* to those contained in Yas. III, 3-20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi¹;' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-karethrãm saoshyantãm²;' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vispau fravashayô ashaonãm yazamaidê³;' and when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept⁴ the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 'tauskâ yazamaidê⁵;' and when they invoke them⁶ at the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* 'dâmanãm⁷;' at the twice-told 'aokhtô-nâmanô⁸;' the 'ashâd hakâ⁹;' or the 'yâtumanahê gasaiti¹⁰;'

¹ This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into 'they are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

² Yas. XXVI, 20.

³ Yas. XXVI, 34.

⁴ K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

⁵ The concluding words of the yênhê hâtãm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

⁶ K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

⁷ Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

⁸ Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14-33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hômtwigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hômtwigs in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

⁹ Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

¹⁰ Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the threefold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept¹; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (*nîzak*) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him² to go from the world, and our prayer (*apistân*) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*³.'

CHAPTER X.

1. The rule⁴ is this, that a *sacred thread-girdle* (*kûstik*) be three *finger-breadths loose* transversely

¹ K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

² Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

³ This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyazu perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *kand zak-i shinavâk-i par andarg avênâk*, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

⁴ Reading *âfnak*; Pâzand writers convert it into *yak*, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. *khadûk*, 'one,' which is written precisely like *âfnak* in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)¹, as is said in every teaching (*kâstak*)², and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (*drôn*), set aside at the dedication *formula* (*shnûmanê*) on the days devoted to the guardian spirits³, is to be used at the season-festivals, the *Nônâbar*⁴, the three nights' ceremony⁵, the *Hôm-drôn*, and other rites of the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do so, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (*kâstak*) of the *Nihâdûm Nask*⁶ it says that a man is going to commit rob-

¹ That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

² That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, 'and by every teaching it is proper.'

³ These *fravarđîkân* are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

⁴ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

⁵ The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

⁶ This was the fifteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Nîkâdûm*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the sixteenth *nask*, called *Niyârum*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work:—

The beginning of the law (*dâd*) is the *Nîkâdûm* of thirty *fargards*. The section *Patkâr-radîstân* ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (*yazisnō-i yazdânō*) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend *Nask*¹ that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, *Zadamistân* ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, *Rêshistân* ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, *Hamêmistân* ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn *Nask*, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the *Dīnkarđ*.

¹ This was the thirteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called *Sfend* in the *Rivâyats*. For its contents, as given by the *Dīnī-vagarkarđ*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dīnkarđ*:—

The *Spend* is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of *Zaratûst*; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv¹, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)² with a hundred and fifty³ demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone *seat* (magôk)⁴; and lest they should make a wet *place* by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad⁵ the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûhar-mazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

¹ The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbô and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvô, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

² K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

³ M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

⁴ Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

⁵ Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot¹, that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta² for making water is to be uttered, *and then it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin³ for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs⁴ which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend⁵ *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is to be uttered.

measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

¹ This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

² This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), three Hukshathrôtemâis (Yas. XXXV, 13-15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtâm (see B. Yt. II, 64).

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ The three chapters (Yas. XLII-XLIV) which begin the Urta-vaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV).

⁵ A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70-77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Arezûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

⁶ See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the *Stûdgar Nask*¹ it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (*têkh*), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (*vahik*), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*kêlharâz*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (*kâskînak*) bird, and of birds *that* of the kite, eagle (*hûmâi*), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men², who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (*pîsak*)³.

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (*marđûm*) who *has* passed away,

¹ See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dinkard: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

² This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

³ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such a *prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus : 'Whenever a trespass (*vinâs*) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account of *it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other ; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me¹.'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots² ; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (*mûgak*) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted ; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*³, except when he knows for certain (*aêvar*) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog⁴.

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the *Dûbâsrûgêd Nask*⁵, where a day in the year is indicated,

¹ That is, I pardon them in charity.

² Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' *avîmûgak* ; this seems to be something different from the sin of *aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh*, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

³ Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

⁴ And, therefore, still containing the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome *Bareshnûm* ceremony.

⁵ This was the sixteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete *Mazdayasnian* literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Dûbâsrûgd* or *Dûbâsrûd* ; but according to the *Dîní-vagarkard*, which calls it *Dvâsrûzd*, and the *Rivâyats*, which call it *Dvâsrûgad*, *Dvâsrûngad*, or *Dvâsrûb*, it was the eighteenth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the *Dîní-vagarkard*, see *Haug's Essays*, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread-girdle* of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child¹, on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*², *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one³.

in the eighth book of the *Dinkard*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the *Dûbâsrûgd* the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called *Pasûs-hôrvisân* ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called *Stôristân* ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, *Argistân* ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, *Aratêstâristân* ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

¹ K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

² See Chap. III, 6.

³ Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the *vâg* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour: five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavârak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze¹. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin² for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes³, and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

¹ Literally, 'make the fire high.'

² See Chap. I, 1, 2.

³ Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41-43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to a *sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad¹, *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)², for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter³.

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*kakar*)⁴ discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram⁵

¹ This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99-112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

² This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahis, or 'Bûndahis of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

³ The Sad-dar Bûndahis says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13-16.

⁴ This might mean a *kakar*, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

⁵ As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or *fargard*, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dinî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpâristân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargards, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargards, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâdûm Nask¹, the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask² it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask³ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered⁴, and *in* like manner when he

the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

¹ See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard.

² See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

³ See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

⁴ Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads¹.

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask² that Zaratûst *has*

¹ Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-karanâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 gûgan sang nê m zîs pûr sang yehevûnêd, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-karanâm would be 3½ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

² This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâdûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on newborn infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Hakîfakânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zarātūst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart¹, is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled² (*gûyisnō*), for in mumbling (*gûdanō*) the parts of the Ahunavar³ are more chattering⁴. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*⁵

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the *Dīnkard* says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zarātūst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

¹ Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

² Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

³ The formula commencing with the words *Yathâ ahû vairyô* (see *Bund. I, 21*); its parts or *bagha* are the phrases into which it may be divided (see *Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12*).

⁴ Reading *drâftar*, 'more clamorous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be *darâktar*, 'more rending,' or *girâftar*, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

⁵ M6 has *Bak*. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dīnkard*, which calls it *Bakô*; but according to the *Dīnī-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the *Dīnī-vagarkard*, see *Haug's Essays*, p. 127. In the *Dīnkard*, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two *fargards*, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the *Dīnkard*. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar¹—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*—and shall let *it* escape² again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12-15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX-XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

¹ The text is corrupted into *min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist*, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert *min* into *mûn*, *bêstârîh* into *bâkhtârîh*, and *drûgist* into *drengâd*. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word *bâkhtârîh* or *bakhtârîh*, appears to have understood the Av. *bagha* in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

² Reading *rânînêd* or *rahônêd*. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the *vâg* or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good ; even so it is revealed in the *Kīdrast Nask*¹ that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskīhar thus : ' Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

¹ This was the twelfth nask or ' book ' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dīnkard*, which calls it *Kīdrastô* or *Kīdrôstô* ; but according to the *Dīnī-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the *Dīnī-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dīnkard* :—

The *Kīdrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man ; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, *Gâyômarz*, how the first pair, *Mashya* and *Mashyôî*, arose, with their progeny, till the region of *Khvanîras* was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The *Pêrdâdîan* dynasty of *Hôshâng*, *Tâkhmôrûpô*, and *Yim*, the evil reign of *Dahâk*, descended from *Tâz*, the brother of *Hôshâng* and father of the Arabs, then *Frêdûn* who divided *Khvanîras* between his three sons, *Salm*, *Tûg*, and *Aīrīk*, who married the daughters of *Pâtsrôbô* (compare *Pahl. Vend. XX, 4*) king of the Arabs, then *Mânûskīhar*, descendant (*nâpô*) of *Aīrīk*, the penal reign of *Frâsiyâv* ruler of *Tûrân*, then *Aûzôbô* the *Tûmâspian*, descendant of *Mânûskīhar*, then *Kaī-Kavâd* and the penal reign of *Karsâspô*. The *Kayânian* dynasty of *Kâi-Us*, *Kaī-Khûsrôb* son of *Siyâvakhsh*, with many tales of the specially famous races of *Iran*, *Tûrân*, and *Salmân*, even to the reigns of *Kaī-Lôharâsp* and *Kaī-Vistâsp*. The apostle *Zaratûst*, and the progress of time and events from the reign of *Frêdûn* till *Zaratûst's* conference with *Aûharmazd*. The race of *Mânûskīhar*, *Nôzar*, and others. *Avarethrabau's* (see *Fravardîn Yt. 106*) father, *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe ; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period ; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of *Zaratûst*.

As *Mânûskīhar* is several times mentioned there are several places in this *Nask* where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of *Spendarmad*, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see *Chap. XV, 5, 20-24*, and *Bund. I, 26*), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (ham-pûrsih).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandêd) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (hangîdâr-dahîsnih); because in the Ratûstâitih *Nask*¹ many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence*.

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

¹ This was the seventh *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Ratûstâitî*; but according to the *Dîni-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the eighth *nask* called *Ratustâi*. For its contents, as given by the *Dîni-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dinkard*:—

The *Ratûstâitî* is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith¹ *have* said that there *may* be mischief (*vinâstârih*) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock², especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it³ a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the *Vendidad*⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the *Vendidad*⁵ seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (*gâs-i levîn*) comes on, contami-

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see *Bund.* XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see *Vend.* XVIII, 33-42, 52).

³ Assuming that *levatman val* means *levatman valman*, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (*lakhvâr val*) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

⁴ The details which follow are to be found in *Bund.* XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi *Vendidad*; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in *Vend.* XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

⁵ *Vend.* VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see *Vend.* VII, 2-4).

nation (nisrûst)¹ does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*².

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted³.

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*⁴; and the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over⁵.

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtih) among women⁶, and when she is consecrating⁷ the sacred

¹ See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

² In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

³ This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

⁴ That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

⁵ So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

⁶ But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

⁷ M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû¹ is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avigînakö).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô²' is not to be said.

38. At night, when³ *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water⁴.

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd *son of* Mâraspend⁵ said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil⁶ and also the clothing are to be well

¹ See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

² These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁴ Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later edition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

⁵ See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

⁶ The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

PART II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*¹.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these², such as a Farmân, Srôshô-karanâm, Âgerept, Atvrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads³; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1-4.)

¹ This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

² §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-karanâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha-karanâm in both these sections.

³ Reading i mâd-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-karanâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads¹; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs²; an Aivîrist is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâi is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garôdmân)⁴ the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep⁵ is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)⁶ is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

¹ That is, one Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-karanâm is one-third of a Farmân.

² Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

³ Written Aredûs 30 sî, 'an Aredûs is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

⁵ Or 'goat.'

⁶ Av. gâus hudhau, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's¹ own; the neck is Ashavahist's² own; the head is the angel Vâê's³ own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's⁴, the left is Drvâsp's⁵; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*⁶ of Vistâsp, and the left *for the guardian spirit* of Gâmâsp⁷; the back is *for the supreme chief*⁸; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarmad's⁹; the testicles¹⁰ are *for the star Vanand*¹¹; the kidneys are

¹ Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX-XI, Bund. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

² The same as Ardavahist (see Bund. I, 26).

³ M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

⁴ Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîsûr in the Bundahis, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

⁵ Av. Drvâspa of the Gôš Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gôšûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gôš, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vistâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

⁷ Av. Gâmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vistâsp.

⁸ Ratpôk berêzađ stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

⁹ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26).

¹⁰ The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

¹¹ Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôiring's¹; the ventricle (naskadakö)² is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance³ of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's⁴; the fore-legs (bâzâi) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâi-fravard's⁵; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakö) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spitâmân⁶; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd⁷ the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon⁸; and any⁹ *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other arch-angels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there* have been *those* who *may* have done so about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

¹ Ursa Major, called Haptök-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

² Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *kustah*, given in the modern MS. M9; but *nas-kađakö* may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

³ Reading *sar-âyišnö*, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. *thraosta* (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not *srâyišnö*, 'chanting.'

⁴ Av. *mâthra spenta*, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into *Mahrspend* or *Mâraspend*, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

⁵ A personification of the Av. *ashaonâm fravashayô*, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see *Fravardîn Yt.* I, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called *Fravardîn*.

⁶ This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

⁷ The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

⁸ Or its angel, *Mâh*, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

⁹ *Mô* has *va aê-maman=va aêk* (Pers. *îk*, 'any'); K20 has *kolâ maman*, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy¹. 6. When *one* shall offer up² *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm frrenaod³,' &c.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's *form of worship* (yast)⁴ is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith⁵ is, when the girdle (aîpiyâung) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)⁶ of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of worship* that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

¹ Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

² Kzo has 'shall give up.'

³ It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words *frrenaod* and *hizvô*, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17-19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

⁴ A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*¹, that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form of worship*.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest² so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul³; as it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*⁴ that no one of them, that is an inattentive (*asrûshdâr*) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence⁵, not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (*sapdak*) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire⁶ in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (*âv-dîdanö*) for the loss of strength (*tanû*) of men⁷; and the chilled charcoal (*angist*) and the rest which are without advantage (*bar*) are to be

¹ See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

² K20 omits this repetition.

³ That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *Kinvað* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

⁴ See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the *Nask*, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

⁵ See Chap. VI, 3.

⁶ K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

⁷ K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the Spend *Nask*¹ *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless² as much as the smallest mouth-veil³, for it says in the Vendidad⁴ that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the food-bowl (*padmānakō*)—that is, a bag (*anbā-nakō-hanā*)⁵—the decree is this, that *it* is a Tanā-

¹ See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the *Nask* which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratūst.

² Probably a negative is omitted, or *akârîniđanō* should be translated 'to make no use of.'

³ See Chap. X, 40. *Kzo* has 'garment.'

⁴ Always written *Vadīkdâd* in this second part of *Sls.*, except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *Gavīd-dēf-dâd* or *Gavīd-sêdâ-dâd*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is *Pahl. Vend.* V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

⁵ Standing for *anbānak-aê*, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form *andanakō-ī*, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian *Rivāyats* state that three bags (*kīsa h*) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*¹ at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad² it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)³.

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*⁴, still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ *it* is revealed that when they sever (te-brûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

¹ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

² This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadikdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdâk Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dîni-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

³ Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

⁴ No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1-3).

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun¹; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)².

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsûdak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)³ it turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons⁴; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad⁵.

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth⁶ is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it*; for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram *Nask*⁷ it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food⁸ for those gifts *and* favours of the

¹ A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garôdmân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

² Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

³ Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

⁴ See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 29.

⁶ Barman-zerkhûnisnîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

⁷ See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

⁸ Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâus hudhau or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdâi) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the Sakâdûm *Nask*¹ grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrîd) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed² in the Spend Nask that *to* Dûkdâv³, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)⁴ with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it*.

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

¹ See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîtô) to the angels.'

² M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, and it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

³ Here written Dûdkâv.

⁴ Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâdûm *Nask*¹.

13. The rule is this², that from a toothpick the bark³ is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith⁴ who *have* said that, when⁵ they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*kakar*) in cohabitation (*zanih*), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (*satôr*) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram *Nask*⁶ the high-priests

¹ That is, in the first thirty sections of the *Nask* (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

² §§ 13-16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20-23, with a few variations.

³ The word appears to be *tôpö* or *tûfö*, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of *tôgö* or *tôzö*, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read *tûpar*, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁶ See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who¹ do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition² of many good works at once; because in the Spend³ and Nihâdûm Nasks⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

¹ The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

² M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

³ See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

⁴ See Chap. X, 3, 22.

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

⁶ See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn¹ from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô² notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith⁴ who *used* to act more orthodoxly (hû-rastakhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar⁵ from the beginning of the feast

¹ K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

² Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînf-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-yast. For its contents, as given by the Dînf-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân avartûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

³ See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht *Nask*¹, that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which is* most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die².

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû³ is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing*; for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers⁴—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control⁵ of ablution (pâdîyâvîh)⁶ and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

¹ See B. Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

² This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

³ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁴ The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaosdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnâm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnâm.

⁵ Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

⁶ See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad¹ it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayas-nians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-î tâstik) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarih), and *it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)². 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânik)

¹ The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4-6.

² Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret¹ kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâdar rite²; for, on account of the same nicety (*nâzûkîh*) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (*pavan pês*)³; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him⁴, *and* he puts a hand to the cup (*gâmak*), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (*apâdâvö*)⁵; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (*môyak gâs*), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (*anâimêd*) of heaven,

¹ Reading *nihân*, but we might perhaps read 'causes (*vahân*) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

² *Yast-i Navashâdar* in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. *navakhshapara*, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâdar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

³ M6 has *pavan pîsak*, 'with ceremony.'

⁴ M6 has 'them.'

⁵ M6 has '*one* knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas¹ thus:—‘Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (*raspakö*); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.’ 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire² of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (*nuk shâyad*); as in the Spend *Nask*³ *it* was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it*; *and* Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns⁴ by name; he was ruler over thirty-three⁵ districts, and he never practised

¹ The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

² M6 has merely ‘through the good works which are practised by him;’ but K20 has ‘*ī hamak*’ inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters *kâmak*, ‘desire,’ in the original from which it was copied.

³ See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûst, which must have been very similar to the *Arđâ-Virâf-nâmak*, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

⁴ This is, no doubt, the Av. *davās* of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated ‘hypocrite.’ The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug’s Essays (p. 351): ‘Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (*đavās*) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.’

⁵ K20 has ‘thirty-four.’

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of worship* (*yast*), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of worship*, or to order a Gêtô-kharîd¹, so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâdôkht *Nask*² it says that a woman (*nâîrik*) who shall be reverent (*tarsak*) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (*zîyâk*).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (*yazisn*), when they shall perform *them*, are good works³; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge⁴ *as sin*; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram *Nask*⁵ it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (*lâ yastanö*) of the season-festivals⁶, the

¹ Here written *gêtôk-kharîd*, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

² See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this *Nask*.

³ The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

⁴ That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the *Kinvað* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

⁵ See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called *Nirangistân*.

⁶ The *Gâsânbârs* or *Gâhanbârs* (see Bund. XXV, 1-6).

Rapitvīn¹, the three *nights*² after a death, the *days devoted* to the guardian spirits³, and the sun and moon⁴.

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû⁵; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good⁶; and in the Stûdgar Nask⁷ it says thus: "What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! and righteousness⁸."

CHAPTER XIII.

o. The signification of the Gâthas⁹.

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

¹ The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9-14).

² See Chap. VIII, 6.

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1-5.

⁵ See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

⁶ That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

⁷ See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

⁸ 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

⁹ That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

represent¹ the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pês nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—fravarânê *being* the beginning of the Fravarânê² *which extends* as far as frastayaêka³, frastuyê⁴, the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1—XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê⁵, the beginning of the Âstaothwanem⁶ (Yas. XIII, 27—XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanemkâ daênayau Mâzdayasnôis — *also represent* the Visâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô ('the ritual of praisers')⁷, and these three Hâs of the Baghâm (Yas. XIX—XXI).

2. In the exposition (*kashîdak*) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yasin the officiating priest tastes the Hôm juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

² Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

³ Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

⁴ M6 has âstuyê.

⁵ M6 omits this word.

⁶ This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27—XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1—XIII, 26.

⁷ Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV—XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yast.

evidence of revelation (dīnô) the wise of those of the primitive faith¹ *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years², and a son and brother of Mazdayasnians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (radân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge³, and these five Gâthas⁴ are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth ceremony (navid-zâdîh)⁵ is performed by him — *becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him⁶; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five⁷ Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Referring to one about to become a priest.

³ The Av. *astra* and *sraoshô-karana* of Vend. IV, 38-114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

⁴ The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLII-XLV), the Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

⁵ This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi *navazûdî*, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a *nônâbar*, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

⁶ That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

⁷ Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (*vakêst*), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind¹.

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*² three times before the coming of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (*hâd*) well, and by line (*gâs*) and stanza, those *apostles* are present³, and the

¹ These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

² This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word *bâr*, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm are the coming of Hûshêdar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 *levînôg*) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. *tisrô paoiryô* and *tisra paoirya* of Visp. XV, 4-6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-*i fratûm*), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both *pêš* (= *levînô*) and *fratûm* are used indifferently for Av. *paoiryô*. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII, 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

³ K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (*dâdistân*) of which it speaks in the *Hâdôkht Nask*¹ thus:— ‘*Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?*’ (‘where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?’) ‘Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;’—so that when they pray the *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them*.

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hvaêtumaithi chapter* (Yas. XXXII)² are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the *Vendidad*³ mentions in *its* first *fargard*.

¹ See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has *mananhê dya vîspâi kaua*, and M6 has *mananhê kya vîsâi kaia*. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, *anaomô*, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the *Nask* which contained this Avesta quotation.

² This *Hâ*, which begins with the words *ahvyâkâ hvaêtus*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into *Khvêtmanô*.

³ Here written *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd* as in Sls. Part I, and not *Vadîkdâd* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). *Vend. I* contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-ais (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels¹ for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônō) of Aû-harmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maê-thanem Ahurahê mazdau, maêthanem ameshanãm spentanãm, maêthanem anyaêshãm ashaonãm². 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Ye-sevistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)³, and the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these repetitions, are for the four classes⁴, and for this reason at Ahurâi mazdâi and ashemkâ frâdad⁵ the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

¹ The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

² This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

³ This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôm juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôm twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

⁴ Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

⁵ That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazdâuskâ in the first line, and ashemkâ frâdad in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i dadôih.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (*zôt*), and at *sraotâ*¹ *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (*anâîrân*) they may be fuller of breath (*vayô-girtar*), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of *Yâ-skyaothanâ* (*Yas. XXXIV*) are for this reason, because it is given² for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (*bêshâz*) of the *Hâdôkht Nask*³. 11. The four repetitions (*bâr*) of *Mazdâ-admôî* (*Yas. XXXIV, 15*)⁴ are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (*radîh*), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme *Zaratûst*⁵.

12. The two repetitions of *Ahyâ-yâsâ* (*Yas. XXVIII, 1*)⁶ are for this reason, that the sovereign (*dahyûpat*) may not at once seize body, conscious-

¹ The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read *va vâ-srôdâân*.

² Or 'produced.'

³ In the last division of that *Nask* (see *B. Yt. III, 25*, note).

⁴ This last stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited four times.

⁵ See *Yas. XIX, 50-52*. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of *Ragha* (*Rages* or *Raî*, near *Teheran*) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

⁶ This first stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the *Gâthas*), but also at the end of every chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or *gâus gîvya*, 'living-cow produce' (see *Haug's Essays*, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*¹ are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (*mâh-mântar*) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (*apâdakhshântar*).

14. In short (*aê-mar*)², *Ahyâ-yâsâ* is as (*pavan*)³ *Aûharmazd* and the righteous man, *Khshmaibyâ* as *Vohûman* and cattle, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ* as *Arzavahist* and fire, *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* as *Shatvairô*⁴ and metal, the *Hvaêtumaithi* as the *Gâtha* of *Spendarmad* and the earth, *Yathâ-âis* as *Horvada* and water, and *Yâ-skyaothanâ* as *Amerôdad* and plants.

15. The progress which is in⁵ the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Ustavaiti Gâtha* the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Spentâ-mainyû*⁶ *Gâtha* the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vahistô-isti Gâtha* the supreme *Zaratûsts* should carry on; and

¹ After the two *Ahyâ-yâsâs*, at the end of each chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula (see *Bund. I, 21*) is recited four times.

² Or 'to sum up.'

³ It is not quite clear how *pavan*, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see *Chap. XV*).

⁴ Here written *Shatrîvar*.

⁵ Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is occasioned by;' but the exact signification of the word *frâk-shâm* or *frêh-kashâm* (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

⁶ *Spendômat* or *Spendamat* in *Pahlavi*.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing¹, these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (*karḍakō*) has nine stanzas; and its beginning² is Humatanām (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanām (Yas. XLI, 17 *supl.*)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (*var*), which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*³, are effected by *ka-thrayâim âthraiãm*⁴.

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imãm-âad-zãm (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third *fargard* in the Vendidad⁵, are accomplished

¹ That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

² That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

³ See Chap. X, 21; but the *Sakâdûm Nask* (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

⁴ These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *kathrayâim âthraiãm*.

⁵ Here written *Vandîkdâd* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—'The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it¹; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge² and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig³ it up *for* a dead *body*; the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)⁴ upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (*vardakîh*) upon it, who is righteous.'

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-*ad-paiti* (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (*arg-hômandîh*) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1-17), the two repetitions of Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13-15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûst⁵.

¹ The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read 'voids urine upon it,' in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

² See Bund. XII, 8.

³ Reading kalêndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, 'they turn to clay' (compare Pers. gil, 'clay'); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, 'they cut,' and as the sentence stands it would imply that 'they cut up its dead.'

⁴ See Chap. II, 6.

⁵ The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âad-sairi¹ (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtâm² are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (*vishûdakân*). 25. *The two repetitions of*³ Thwôistaotaraskê (Yas. XLI, 12-14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (*yazisnô*) and the *sacred* feast (*mâzd*).

26. The two repetitions of Âtaremka (Visp. XIX, 1-8)⁴ are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzist⁵.

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the Ustavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII)⁶ it is related just as about the *Hvaêtumaithi chapter*⁷.

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

¹ M6 has *gairî*, 'in a song,' with the obsolete *g*, which is very like *s*, and is also used in the word *garô* in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

² This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words *2 dânar*, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

³ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

⁴ Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

⁵ The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8-10).

⁶ The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word *ustâ*.

⁷ See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (*dâdistân*) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* again¹, because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of *Ad-fravakhshyâ* (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships² and the five accomplishments (*farhâng*) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others³ all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (*andarag-gûftanö*); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (*dên hâsar*), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge⁴; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

¹ That is, the first line (*tað thwâ peresâ eres môi vaokâ Ahurâ!* 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the *Gâthas*) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

² These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (*raðih*) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see *Bund. XXIX, 1*).

³ Assuming that *ařan* stands for *ařân*.

⁴ The *Kinvad* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see *Chap. XII, 31*). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kām-nemôî-zām (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvêsakânîh)¹, that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsô-frîd)², which it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*³ should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters⁴, and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)⁵. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)⁶ are, one as a retention and embrace of Aûharmazd, and one as a destruction of the fiends; and Usta-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXI, 1-5)⁷ in like manner.

33. Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) has six stanzas, Yêzi-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâyavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, and Kad-môî-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters⁸, and

¹ Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

² Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

³ See Chap. X, 25.

⁴ Those detailed in §§ 27-30.

⁵ Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

⁶ The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes¹. 35. The two repetitions of *Spentâ-mainyû* (Yas. XLVI, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (*spendamat*), and one for that of the earth³.

36. One *Spentem-Ahurem-mazdãm* (Visp. XXII, 1-11)⁴ is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above⁵.

38. The two repetitions of *Vohû-khshathrem* (Yas. L, 1)⁶ are, one the laudation of living (*zîndakth*), and one of the supreme *Zaratûst*.

39. One *Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê* (Visp. XXIII, 1-9)⁷ is for the laudation of *Shatvairô*⁸, and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of *Avi-*

¹ See §§ 9, 11.

² The first stanza of the *Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that *Gâtha* (see § 12, note).

³ It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded *Spendamat*, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel *Spendarmazd* who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms *spenta mainyu* and *spenta ârmaiti*, respectively.

⁴ Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁵ See § 6.

⁶ The first stanza of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXIII, 1-9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14-19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written *Shatrîvar*.

apām (Visp. XXIV, 1-12)¹ are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistōisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are² . . . the supreme Zaratōstship lodging in the supreme Zaratōsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gātha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithā-î-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)³, for *there is* always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it is* declared: *kathrus hamayau khshapô dahmayâd parô âfritôid*⁴, 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),'⁵ and three *times* Srôsh⁶, twice Bûshâsp⁶, and once Aêshm⁷ will come

¹ After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1-9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1-12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

² Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

³ Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

⁴ This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night; dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrinô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

⁵ See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

⁶ The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

⁷ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (*nârik*)¹. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (*padmân*).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXVI)³ are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)⁴ are for the existence of more submission (*aïrmânih*) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those⁵ *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (*karakö*) whose beginning is *Tad-sôidhis* (Yas. LVII, 1-9)⁶ is, for the completion

¹ Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

² The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

³ Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

⁴ So called from its first words *â airyemâ*; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

⁵ M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

⁶ This is the Fshûshô-mâthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gāthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gāthas (gāsānik kâst).

50. The beginning of the Gāthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâkāk), 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûrdak¹. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gāthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gātha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gāthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

¹ The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârîk and khûrdak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârîk usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâkāk here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârîk must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâd-spāram, in the particulars he gives about the Gāthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârîk at 6666. The khûrdak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the *Ustavaiti Gâtha* (Yas. XLII-XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except *Haêkad-aspâ* (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the *Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha* (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the *Vohû-khshathra* (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three¹ lines; and nine stanzas of the *Vahistôisti* (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except *Ithâ-î* (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing² is 278 stanzas³.

CHAPTER XIV⁴.

o. May it be in the name of God (*yazdân*) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (*drônô*), and it becomes demon worship⁵, what and how many *things* are not proper?

¹ All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about *Ithâ-î* to the account of this *Gâtha*, instead of mentioning it in the details of the *Vahistôisti*; which blunder is here corrected.

² Reading *kadmon yehevûnisnô*, but the latter word, with part of the cyphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters *gnn gnn*, which are unintelligible, though something like *Pahl. yehevûnisnô*; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

³ The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the *Gâtha* texts.

⁴ This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1-4, and a *Pâzand* version of §§ 1-3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

⁵ That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (*baresôm-i apâdiyâv*)¹, or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (*tâk*) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north² *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (*kâshnik*), not from the sacred cake with the butter (*gâûs-dâê*)³, *but* from the *frasast*; or takes the prayer (*vâg*)⁴ *inwardly* regarding that cake (*drônô*) before the officiating priest (*zôt*) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in excess, and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the sacred cake*; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

¹ See Chap. III, 32, note.

² The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

³ Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4-6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the *frasasts* are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

⁴ That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shnûmanö)¹ too soon or too late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)² is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it*; that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd³ *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês⁴, one of the zodiacal stars (akhtarik) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished⁵.

¹ See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

² See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

³ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁴ Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

⁵ This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patî-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159-162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*¹.CHAPTER XV².

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (*vâk*) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvairô³, Spendarmad, Horvadad, and Amerôdad are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom⁴ I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not⁵?'

¹ This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

² This chapter follows the Patî-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16-28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113-122, and L7, fols. 70-76.

³ Written Shatrôivar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

⁴ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus : ' They *should* be ; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân ! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Arđavahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadađ is the water, *and* of Amerôdad is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned¹ the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons ; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. ' Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd ; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)², it is necessary *that* he should³ propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them ; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

¹ Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

² Or 'at all times;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

³ Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or e) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (*vahist*).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (*gâs*) *and* time, the well-yielding (*hûdhâk*) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (*gâs*) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (*gâs*); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*karak*) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence¹.

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ardavahist may be with *him* at every place (*gâs*) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water² which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (*bâ-har*) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (*Ardavahist*) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvairô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvairô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvairô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal³ at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (*âiyinô*) of the

¹ See Chap. VI, 3.

² Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

³ The word may be read either *âiyên* or *asîn* (Av. *ayangh*, Pers. *âyan*, *âhan*, or *âhîn*), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Ātarôpâd son of Mâraspend¹ even acted in this priestly fashion (*dastôbarih*), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (*khânô*) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though² they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvairô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarmad in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarmad; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarmad may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (*barâ lâ vêshêd*) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

¹ The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazda-yasnian religion. The metal used is generally called *rûf*, 'brass,' but here it is *afyên*, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

² Reading *amat*, 'though,' instead of *mûn*, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time¹. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmað in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanōik). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanik), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom to a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarmað in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her² happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvadað and Amerôdað in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadað and Amerôdað, in whatever has happened and in

¹ Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

² Spendarmað is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1-20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation¹. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (*hîkhar*), dead matter (*nasâi*)², *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when³ he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of *Horvadađ* and *Amerôdađ* themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of *Aûharmazd* becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. *Aûharmazd* said this also to *Zaratûst*, namely:

¹ Reading *mûn*, 'who,' instead of *amat*, 'when,' and *dûgend*, 'they steal,' instead of *dûgd* (perhaps for *dûgak*, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be *vakhđûnêđ*, 'takes, seizes,' and not *vâđûnêđ*, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

² For the meaning of *hîkhar* and *nasâi*, see note on Chap. II, 30.

³ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see *Bund. I*, 7, note).

'My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.'

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy¹.

CHAPTER XVI.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas², some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snêš) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-breadths from the ground *it is* the root³ of an

¹ This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

² Reading 3 nûmâf-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rūpi having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be 3½ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

³ See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*gûgan*)¹. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôrist for him, and his sentence (*dînâ*) is to be changed; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams², which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredûs for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (*dîst*)³ *it is* no root of an Aredûs for him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin :—A Srôshô-*karanâm*⁴ is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-*karanâm*, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôrist is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredûs is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâzâi is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred⁵.

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

¹ § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

² § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

³ The *dîst* is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

⁴ See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-*karanâm*, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

⁵ For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (*yazisn-i yazdân*):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (*drôn*)¹ is a good work of one *Tanâpûhar*²; a *form of worship* (*yast*)³ is a hundred *Tanâpûhars*; a *Visparad*⁴ is a thousand *Tanâpûhars*; a *Dô-hômâst*⁵ is ten thousand; a *Dvâzdah-hômâst* is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (*kirfak*) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a *Hâd-ôkht*⁶ is two thousand *Tanâpûhars*, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one⁷.

¹ See Chap. III, 32. The Persian *Rivâyats* explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a *Tanâpûhar sin* (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

³ A *Yast* is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

⁴ The *Visparad* service includes the *Yasna*, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

⁵ This kind of *Hômâst* is not mentioned in *Dastûr Jâmâspji's* explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the *Nîrangistân* as a distinct kind, though called merely *Hômâst* in the Persian *Rivâyats*.

⁶ See B. Yt. III, 25.

⁷ The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian *Rivâyats*; thus, that of the ordinary recital of the *Vendidad* (which includes both *Yasna* and *Visparad*) is sixty thousand *Tanâpûhars*, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any *Nyâyis* (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (*vâg*, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one *Tanâpûhar*.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in *its* vicinity¹; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations². 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (*yazisn*) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days³; and when *one* con-

¹ Reading *va hamgôshak*, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (*pavan zak vâmkînih*);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of *vâmpôš* (Pers. *bâmpôš*, 'roofing').

² The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

³ The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8-36, XVII, 5-27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)¹ in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû *and* Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good², *and* the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâi fravard); and clothing³ is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep⁴, *and* the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies*; and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day⁵. 6. When he

¹ These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

² The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the Kinvad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

³ This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Sad-dar Bundahis LXXXVII).

⁴ Or 'goat.'

⁵ That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûih) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-i veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêti-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead¹, for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon², and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon³, and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake⁴.

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta⁵, that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy⁶, so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta⁷, is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it*; for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

¹ That is, there is no resurrection for them.

² And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

³ Compare Vend. VIII, 98-106.

⁴ Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

⁵ But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

⁶ That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

⁷ Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (*var-hômandih*)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that¹, too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen *to be* (*aûftêd*)?'

12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen *to be*, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.'

13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise² *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?'

14. The reply *was*: 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (*gâs*) or a bed (*vistarg*), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

¹ The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

² Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (*Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17*), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment¹ is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy².

CHAPTER XVIII³.

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm⁴ rushed into the presence of Aharman⁵, and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aôharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, *to* which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

¹ Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by *kađâm-1 pârak*.

² The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

³ Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahis, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

⁴ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17).

⁵ See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.

(gâsânbâr)¹, the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das).'

¹ See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyôshema and Maidhyârya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with¹ thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast²! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage³! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it* will not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels⁴.'

creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

¹ Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

² By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

³ By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the *Dinkard*, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

⁴ The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô¹ *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything².

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahisnö); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly³.

next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paivand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Bund. I, 21.

² It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkard, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkard contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

³ The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas*; for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts¹, and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival².

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarth) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler*³, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs⁴ are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

¹ The words pavan mînîsn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

² K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . anhau khshapô kadârkkâi pavan kadârkkâi] madam vazlûnêd râdîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "on that day nor on that night comes there anything whatever on any one," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four by *him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs of creation and the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

³ This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward¹ at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less².

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose.

11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts *of burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative³.

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly⁴.

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him *and* be friendly⁵.

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them*; or *by him*

¹ Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

² The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

³ Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

⁵ The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him¹; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (*samâd*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX².

I. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (*dînô*) that a man is to go as much as possible (*kand vês-ast*) to the abode of fires³, and the salutation (*niyâyisnô*) of fire⁴ is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

¹ The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

² The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4-17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

³ The fire-temple.

⁴ That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (airākht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastö) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)¹ far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands² and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun³; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

¹ See Chap. II, 1.

² See Chap. VII, 7.

³ See Chap. VII, 1-6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires¹. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*²; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrîd³ said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)⁴ of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

¹ The fire-temple.

² Assuming that the word sapîrîh, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

³ See B. Yt. I, 7.

⁴ The word gâsân being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read dahîsn, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation of *sin* (patitîk)¹ for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it*; and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there is he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there is he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished², for *this* is a sin; and *there is he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there is he by* whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdîk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse³ except righteousness, it is possible

¹ That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

² Literally, 'killed.'

³ M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn¹ wished to slay Az-i Dahâk², *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI³.

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come⁴ into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

¹ See Bund. XXXI, 7.

² See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55-61.

³ The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

⁴ Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five toes or sole,' we might translate as follows: 'When the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four¹ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half²; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven³ feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine⁴ feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight⁵ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot⁶.

¹ K20 has 'three' by mistake.

² M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

³ K20 has 'six' by mistake.

⁴ Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

⁵ Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

⁶ It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 36' (as it

3. The midday shadow is written¹, may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)² *period of the day*; may it be well and fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnõ), and the sun comes unto the head³ of Cancer, and *one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts⁴, he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is $32^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it $15'$ or $20'$ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of $2^{\circ} 4'$ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of $39'$ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of $1^{\circ} 22'$ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than $6'$, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

¹ Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

² See Bund. XXV, 9.

³ The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

⁴ What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5-7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot¹, *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven² feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third³; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike⁴.

beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

¹ Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

² Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

³ Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pāî, instead of pāî 3 yak-1.

⁴ This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII¹.

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion²!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman³ be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Arđavahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvairô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarmad grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvadađ grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôdad grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts*!

summer, diminishing to 2¼ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

¹ These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

² The meaning of the word *pâđrôg* or *pâđrang* (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the *Yâđkâr-i Zarîrân*, or *Vistâsp-shâhnâmak*: Pavan har razm va *pâđrazm-i lak pîrôg* va *vêh pâđrôg sem yâityûnî-ae*, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

³ The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dinô always secure¹ *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô² hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âvân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (ham-bud'ikân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tistar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gôsûrvan the archangel³ is the protection of four-footed *beasts*.

15. May Dinô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want⁴ far from thee! may he destroy *them, and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor⁵ to the splendid heaven!

¹ This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is *netrûnâd*, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is *ketrûnâd*, 'may she remain.'

² *Bûrs âtarô*, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

³ She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

⁴ These are the three fiends, *Âz*, *Aeshm*, and *Niyâz* (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 26, 27).

⁵ It is very possible that the verb should be *yehabûnâd*,

19. May Fravardîn give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent ¹ lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years ², undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâd bring thee peace ³ from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshisang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Âstâd be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

instead of yehevûnâd, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

¹ The meaning of khvâpar (Av. hvâpara) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

² That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

³ Written drûd instead of drûd.

28. May Zamyād destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Māraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anīrān the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdān)¹ who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these arch-angels whose names I have brought *forward*; may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srit² the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayāns, through the will of the persistent Aūharmazd!

CHAPTER XXIII.

o. In the name of God and the good creation be health³!

1. Aūharmazd is more creative, Vohūman is more

¹ Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anīrān is a personification of Av. anaghra raokau, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aūharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30-32.

² This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrīta, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Sritō of SZS. XI, 10, note.

³ Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished¹, *Ardavahist* is more brilliant², *Shatvaîrô* is more exalted³, *Spendarmad* is more fruitful⁴, *Horvadađ* is moister⁵, *Amerôdađ* is fatter⁶. 2. *Dîn-pa-Âtarô* is just like *Aûharmazd*⁷, *Âtarô* is hotter⁸, *Âvân* is more golden⁹, *Khûr* is more observant¹⁰, *Mâh* is more protective¹¹, *Tîr* is more liberal, *Gôs* is swifter¹². 3. *Dîn*¹³-*pa-Mitrô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Mitrô* is more judicial, *Srôsh* is more vigorous, *Rashn* is more just, *Fravardîn* is more powerful, *Vâhrâm* is more victorious, *Râm* is more pleasing, *Vâd* is more fragrant. 4. *Dîn-pa-Dînô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Dînô* is more valuable, *Ard*¹⁴ is more beautiful, *Âstâd* is purer, *Âsmân* is more lofty, *Zamyâd* is more conclusive, *Mâraspend* is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3-5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

¹ M6 has 'more nimble.'

² M6 has 'more discriminative.'

³ M6 has 'more active.'

⁴ M6 has 'more complete.'

⁵ M6 has 'fatter.'

⁶ M6 has 'more fruitful.'

⁷ M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

⁸ M6 has 'more heating.'

⁹ Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr* (a title of the angel *Âvân*, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

¹⁰ M6 has 'more embellished.'

¹¹ M6 has *varpântar*, the meaning of which is uncertain.

¹² M6 has 'more listening.'

¹³ The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

¹⁴ The same as *Arshirang* (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anlrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening¹.

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure!

¹ The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1-4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dîno followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations ; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached ; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned ; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in Roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta word ; Bd. for Bundahîs ; Byt. for Bahman Yast ; ch. for chapter of Visparad ; com. for commentator and commentary ; Gug. for Gugarâti ; Huz. for Huzvâris ; Int. for Introduction ; lun. man. for lunar mansion ; m. for mountain ; meas. for measure ; n for foot-note ; Pahl. for Pahlavi ; Pâz. for Pâzand ; Pers. for Persian ; r. for river ; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast ; trans. for translation ; wt. for weight ; zod. for zodiacal constellation ; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spam.

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 Zismand r., Bd. 20, 7, 19.
 Ziyânak, woman, Bd. 31, 4.
 Zôb, king, Bd. 34, 6. See Aûzôbô.
Zobara-vahman, bird, Bd. 19, 19.
 Zodiacal signs, Bd. 2, 2; Sl. 21, 2, 7.
 Zohab, land, Bd. 20, 25 n.
 Zôhar, see Holy-water.
 Zôndak r., Bd. 20, 7, 15 n.
 Zôta (priest), Bd. 30, 30.
 Zravâd, place, Bd. 12, 35.
 Zrâvakad, place, Bd. 12, 35.
 Zrvâna, Av., Zs. 1, 24 n.
 Zûsak, man, Bd. 31, 14.

CORRIGENDA.

- In p. xx, ll. 3, 4, read '18. equivalent to Chaldee \aleph and to Pahl. MS. \aleph \bar{a} 1.'
- P. xx, footnote 1 (as follows):—¹ It is an old Syriac *olaph*; and in fifty-three Semitic words it represents a final \bar{a} , $\bar{a}b$, eb , $\bar{e}b$, or e' , but in two words it may represent either $\bar{a}b$, or $m\bar{a}n$. Levy, in his *Beiträge*, cited on p. xi, considers it to be a Semitic \aleph , on palaeographical grounds.
- P. 15, l. 3; p. 17, ll. 1, 2; p. 19, l. 21, for 'confederate' read 'primary' (3 times).
- P. 15, l. 4, for '(hâm-dast)' read '(khâmîst).'
- P. 15, footnote 1 (as follows):—¹ The Pâzand MSS. have *garôist*, for the Huz. *hêmnunast*. Windischmann and Justi have 'all.' Pahl. *khâmîst*=*kâdmon*.
- P. 63, ll. 14-15 (as follows):—'when Yim was cut up by them, the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim from the hand of Dahâk.'
- In Bundahish, chap. XXV, for 'auspicious' read 'rectified,' in p. 92, l. 1; p. 93, l. 1; p. 94, ll. 3, 4, 6, 7; p. 95, ll. 4, 11, 13; p. 97, l. 8.
- In p. 92, footnote 1, ll. 26-37 [omitting ll. 25 and half of 26 (*something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates*)], read as follows:—Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. *bîhrak* or *bihtarak*, 'intercalary month,' which suggests *veh*, 'good,' as the first component of the epithet. Starting from this hint, we may build up the full meaning of the epithet as follows:—*vehîk*, 'really good;'; *vehîkak*, 'what is really good, or rectified;'; *vehîkakîg*, 'fit for what is really good, or rectified.' Besides the ordinary year of 365 days, the Persians used a *rectified* year (for religious purposes) in which New Year's day was made to coincide with the vernal equinox by an occasional intercalation of an extra month (see Sachau's *Albirûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 12, 13, 38, 53-56, 121, 184, 185, 220, 221). This was done by inserting a thirteenth month, between the twelfth ordinary month and its five extra days.
- P. 109, l. 20, for 'foregoing' read 'primitive.'
- In p. 117, footnote 6, ll. 4, 5, read as follows:—'the ox Hadayās, through whom occurs the complete perfection of primitive man.'
- P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'
- P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâd-sparam' read 'Zâd-sparam;'; also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.
- P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

(May, 1901.)

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	k
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	kh
3 Media	g			ग	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q			𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			ङ	{ 𐬄 (ng) 𐬄 (n)					
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	h, hs
8 " lenis	h			𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	
9 " asper faucalis	'h			𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h			𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	
11 " asper fricatus	'h			𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h			𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis		k		च	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	k
14 " aspirata		kh		छ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	kh
15 Media		g		ज	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	
16 " aspirata		gh		झ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	
17 " Nasalis		ñ		ञ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	

	COISSONANTS (<i>post/nard</i>)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
		I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18	Semivocalis	y	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	ی	ي	י	י	y
19	Spiritus asper		(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20	" lenis		(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	" asper assibilatus		s	...	𑀮	𐬯	س	س	ס	ס	s
22	" lenis assibilatus		z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	z
	Dentales.										
23	Tenuis	t	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	ت	ت	ת	ת	t
24	" aspirata	th	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	تھ	تھ	ת	ת	th
25	" assibilata	d	...	TU	𑀮	𐬯	د	د	ד	ד	d
26	Media	dh	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	دھ	دھ	ד	ד	dh
27	" aspirata . . . . .		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28	" assibilata . . . . .		...	DH	𑀮	𐬯	دھ	دھ	ד	ד	dh
29	Nasalis	n	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	ن	ن	נ	נ	n
30	Semivocalis	l	...	...	𑀮	𐬯	ل	ل	ל	ל	l
31	" mollis 1		l	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	" mollis 2		l	L	𑀮	𐬯	ل	ل	ל	ל	l
33	Spiritus asper 1		s	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
34	" asper 2		s	S	𑀮	𐬯	س	س	ס	ס	s
35	" lenis		z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	z
36	" asperimus 1		z	z (z)	𑀮	𐬯	ز	ز	ז	ז	z
37	" asperimus 2		z	z (z)	𑀮	𐬯	ז	ז	ז	ז	z

**Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)**

38 Tenuis	f	ز	ف	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
39 " aspirata	th	ث	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
40 Media	d	ذ	ط	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض
41 " aspirata	dh	ذ	ط	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض
42 Nasalis	n	ن	ط	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن
43 Semivocalis	r	ر	ط	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
44 " fricata	r	ر	ط	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
45 " diacritica	r	ر	ط	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
46 Spiritus asper	sh	ش	ط	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش
47 " lenis	zh	ذ	ط	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ
49 " aspirata	ph	ف	پ	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
50 Media	b	ب	پ	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
51 " aspirata	bh	ب	پ	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
52 Tenuissima	p	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ
53 Nasalis	m	م	پ	م	م	م	م	م	م	م
54 Semivocalis	w	و	پ	و	و	و	و	و	و	و
55 " aspirata	hw	ه	پ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه
56 Spiritus asper	f	ف	پ	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
57 " lenis	v	و	پ	و	و	و	و	و	و	و
58 Anusvāra	m	م	پ	م	م	م	م	م	م	م
59 Visarga	h	ه	پ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Phoenit.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0	(a)	(i)							
1 Neutralis	0			०					一	ㄨ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ə			ॡ					一	ㄨ
3 " labialis	ō			ॢ					一	ㄨ
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	(a)		अ	𐬀	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
5 " longa	ā			आ	𐬁	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
6 Palatalis brevis	i		(i)	इ	𐬂	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
7 " longa	ī			ई	𐬃	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
8 Dentalis brevis	h			ह	𐬄	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
9 " longa	h̄			ह	𐬄	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	𐬅	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
11 " longa	rī			रि	𐬅	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
12 Labialis brevis	u	(u)		उ	𐬆	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
13 " longa	ū			ऊ	𐬇	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	(e)		ए	𐬈	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
15 " longa	ē	(ē)		ए	𐬈	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ऐ	𐬉	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
17 " " " "	ei	(ei)		ई	𐬉	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
18 " " " "	oi	(oi)		औ	𐬊	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	(o)		ओ	𐬋	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
20 " longa	ō			औ	𐬋	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		औ	𐬋	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
22 " " " "	eu	(eu)		औ	𐬋	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
23 " " " "	ou	(ou)		औ	𐬋	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ	𐬀	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			इ	𐬂	ا	ا	ا	א	ㄨ

THE DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK
AND THE EPISTLES
OF MÂNÛSKÎHAR

1

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INTRODUCTION.

I. GENERAL REMARKS.

THE Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are distinguished from all others by the peculiarity that both the name and station of their author and the time in which he lived are distinctly recorded.

His name, *Mânûskîhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* (or *Gûsn-dam*), is mentioned in each of the headings and colophons to the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* and the three Epistles attributed to him. He is styled simply *aêrpat*, or 'priest,' in the headings of Eps. I and II, and *aêrpat khûdâi*, or 'priestly lordship,' in that of Ep. III; but he is called the *rad*, 'pontiff, or executive high-priest,' of *Pârs* and *Kirmân*, and the *farmâdâr*, 'director,' of the profession of priests, in the colophons to Dd. and Ep. II; and we learn from Dd. XLV, 5 that the *farmâdâr* was also the *pesûpâi*, or 'leader' of the religion, the supreme high-priest of the *Masda*-worshipping faith.

Regarding his family we learn, from Ep. I, iii, 10, vii, 5, that his father, *Yûdân-Yim*, son of *Shahpûhar*, had been the leader of the religion before him; and his own succession to this dignity indicates that he was the eldest surviving son of his father, who, in his declining years, seems to have been assisted by his advice (Ep. I, iii, 11). We also learn, from the heading of his second epistle, that *Zâd-sparam* was his brother, and this is confirmed by the language used in Ep. II, vi, 1, ix, 6, and by *Zâd-sparam* being a son of the same father (Eps. I, heading, III, 2); that he was a younger brother appears from the general tone of authority over him adopted by *Mânûskîhar* in his epistles. Shortly before these epistles were written, *Zâd-sparam* appears to have been at *Sarakhs* (Ep. II, v, 3), in

the extreme north-east of Khurásán, where he probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz (Ep. II, i, 12) and adopted some of their heretical opinions, and whence he may have travelled through Nivshahpûhar (Ep. II, i, 2, note) and Shîrâs (Ep. II, v, 3, 4) on his way to Sîrkân to take up his appointment as high-priest of the south (Eps. I, heading, II, i, 4, v, 9, vii, 1, viii, 1, Zs. I, o). Soon after his arrival at Sîrkân he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification, which led to complaints from the people of that place, and compelled his brother to interfere by writing epistles, threatening him with deprivation of office (Ep. I, xi, 7) and the fate of a heretic (Eps. II, viii, 2, 3, III, 17-19). That *Zâd*-sparam finally submitted, so far as not to be deprived of his office, appears from his still retaining his position in the south while writing his Selections (Zs. I, o), which must have been compiled at some later period, free from the excitement of active and hazardous controversy.

The age in which Mânûskîhar lived is decided by the date attached to his third epistle, or public notification, to the *Masda*-worshippers of Irân; which date is the third month of the year 250 of *Yasdakard* (Ep. III, 21), corresponding to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July A. D. 881; at which time, we learn, he was an old man (Ep. II, ix, 1), but not too old to travel (Eps. I, iii, 13, xi, 4, II, v, 5, vi, 4, 6, vii, 3, viii, 4, 5).

His writings, therefore, represent the state of the Zoroastrian religion a thousand years ago; and it may be presumed, from the importance and influentialness of his position, that his representations can be implicitly relied upon. To detect any differences there may be between the tenets and religious customs he describes, and those upheld by Zoroastrians of the present time, would require all the learning and experience of a Parsi priest; but, so far as a European can judge, from these writings and his own limited knowledge of existing religious customs among the Parsis, the change has been less than in any other form of religion during the same period.

The manuscripts containing the writings of Mânûskîhar

are of two classes, one represented in Europe by the codex No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the University Library at Kopenhagen, the other represented by No. 14 of the Haug Collection of similar manuscripts in the State Library at Munich, which two manuscripts are called K₃₅ and M₁₄, respectively, in this volume. In the former of these classes, represented by K₃₅, the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* occupies the central third of the codex; being preceded by a nearly equal extent of other miscellaneous religious writings of rather later date, resembling a Pahlavi Rivâyat; and being followed by a third series of similar writings of about the same age and extent as the *Dâdistân-i Dinik*, which includes the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar* and the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*. In the latter class of manuscripts, from which M₁₄ is descended, the text of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* contains many variations from that in the former class, as if it had been revised by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was insufficient to decipher difficult passages, and who had freely exercised his editorial license in altering and mutilating the text to suit his own limited comprehension of it.

The codex K₃₅, which was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, is one of the most important manuscripts of the former class, and now consists of 181 folios; but it is incomplete at both ends, having lost seventy-one folios at the beginning and about thirty-five at the end. It still includes, however, the whole of the *Dâdistân-i Dinik* and the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar*; though its date has been lost with its last folios. But this date can be recovered from an old copy of this codex existing in India (here called BK) and still containing a colophon, probably copied from K₃₅¹, which states that the manuscript was

¹ One reason for supposing that this colophon was so copied is that K₃₅ does not seem older than the date mentioned in it. Another reason is that the loss of the end of this colophon in BK allows us to assume that it was followed by another colophon, as is often the case in copies of old MSS. A colophon that extends to the end of the last folio of a manuscript can never be safely assumed to belong to that manuscript, because it may have been followed by others on further folios.

completed by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, on the day Âsmân of the month Amerôdad A. Y. 941 (19th March, 1572), in the district of the Dahikân in the land of Kirmân. The end of this colophon is lost with the last folio of BK, which renders it possible that the last folio contained the further colophon of this copy.

That BK is descended from K35 is proved by its containing several false readings, which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35. And that it was copied direct from that codex is proved by the last words of thirty-two of its pages being marked with interlined circles in K35, which circles must have been the copyist's marks for finding his place, when beginning a fresh page after turning over his folios. This copy of K35 has lost many of its folios, in various parts, but most of the missing text has been recently restored from the modern manuscript J, mentioned below; there are still, however, eleven folios of text missing, near the end of the codex, part of which can be hereafter recovered from TK, described below. The independent value of BK is that it supplies the contents of the seventy-one folios lost at the beginning of K35, and of about nineteen of the folios missing at the end of that codex.

A third manuscript of the first class, which may be even more important than K35, was brought to Bombay from Persia about fifteen years ago, and belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, of Bombay, but it has not been available for settling the texts translated in this volume. It is here called TK, and is described as still consisting of 227 folios, though seventy folios are missing at the beginning and about fourteen at the end. In its present state, therefore, it must begin very near the same place as K35, but it extends much further, so as even to supply nearly half the contents of the eleven folios missing from BK; it does not, however, include the contents of the last three folios of BK. According to a colophon appended in this manuscript to the 'Sayings of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, about the formation of men out of body, life,

and soul' (see Zs. XI, 10, note), some copy of these 'sayings' was written by Gôpatshah Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân. This Gôpatshah was evidently a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of the Marzapân who wrote the colophon found in BK and supposed to have been copied from K₃₅ (see pp. xv, xvi). If, therefore, this colophon in TK has not been copied from some older MS., it would indicate that TK is two generations older than K₃₅.

A recent copy of TK exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, to whom I am indebted for the information that its text does not differ from that of K₃₅, at the two points (Dd. XCIII, 17 and Ep. III, 11) where some omission of text may be suspected.

The manuscripts of the second class appear to be all descended from an old, undated codex brought to Bombay from Persia about sixty-five years ago¹, and recently in the library of Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmji Pâtel of Bombay. From what is stated, concerning the contents of this codex, it appears to commence with about three-fourths of the miscellaneous religious writings, found at the beginning of BK; and these are followed by the altered text of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik*, as appears from the copies described below, but how the codex concludes is not stated. It may, however, be supposed that it contains as much of the third series of writings as is found in the manuscript J, a copy of this codex which ends in Ep. II, vi, 2.

This manuscript J belongs to the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; it commenced originally at the same point as the codex just described, and, so far as it has been examined, it contains the same altered text of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik*. There is, therefore little doubt that it was originally copied from that codex, but a considerable

¹ There is some doubt about this period. Dastûr Peshotanji mentions thirty or forty years, but in the MS. J, which appears to have been copied chiefly from this codex in Bombay, the date noted by the copyist of the older part of that MS. is 'the day Rashn of the month Khûrdâd, A.Y. 1188' (21st December 1818, according to the calendar of the Indian Parsis), showing that the codex must have been at least sixty-four years in Bombay.

portion of the additional matter at the beginning of BK has been prefixed to it at a later date. The oldest portion of this copy, extending to Ep. I, vii, 4, bears a date corresponding to 21st December 1818; the date of a further portion, extending to Ep. II, vi, 2, corresponds to 12th February 1841; and a third portion copied from BK, at the beginning of the manuscript, is still more recent.

Another copy of this codex, or of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik* contained in it, exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay; and from this copy the text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik* contained in M14 was transcribed.

This latter manuscript consists of two volumes, written in 1865 and 1868, respectively; the first volume containing Chaps. I, 1-XXXVII, 9, and the second volume Chaps. XXXVI, 1-XCIV, 15 of the altered text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik*.

Other copies of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik*, which have not been examined, are to be found in India, but, unless descended from other manuscripts than K35 and the above-mentioned codex recently belonging to Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmjî, they would be of no further use for settling the text.

Of the manuscripts above described the following have been available for the translations in this volume:—K35 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik* and the Epistles; M14 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik* alone; BK for Dd. I, 1-VI, 3¹, X, 2-XIV, 3², LXXXVIII, 9-XCIV, 15, the whole of the Epistles, the legend about the soul of Keresâsp (see pp. 373-381), and the extracts from the Pahlavi Rivâyat in these codices relating to Khvêtûk-das (see pp. 415-423); and J for Dd. I, 1-XXXIX, 10³; LXXXVIII, 9-LXXXIX, 1⁴, XCI, 7-XCIV, 15, Ep. I, i, 1-II, ix, 7⁵, the

¹ The text of Chaps. VI, 3-X, 2 has been lost, and recently supplied from J.

² No copy of the intermediate chapters obtained by the present translator, and several of the original folios have been lost.

³ No copy of the intermediate chapters taken by the present translator.

⁴ Chaps. LXXXIX, 1-XCI, 7 omitted.

⁵ Ep. II, vi, 2-ix, 7 being copied from BK and wrongly inserted in Dd. XXXVII, 33 (see p. 89, note 5).

legend about Keresâsp, and the extracts relating to Khvétúk-das. Other manuscripts, used for the remaining extracts translated in the Appendix, will be mentioned in § 4 of this introduction.

The existence of two versions of the text of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik* would have been a source of much perplexity to the translator, had it not been soon apparent that the version represented by M14 was merely a revision of that in K35, attempted by some editor who had found much difficulty in understanding the involved phraseology of *Mânûskîhar*. There are, undoubtedly, some corrupt words and passages in K35, where the revised version may be followed with advantage, but nine-tenths of the alterations, introduced by the reviser, are wholly unnecessary, and in many cases they are quite inconsistent with the context.

Under these circumstances it has been the duty of the translator to follow the text given in K35, wherever it is not wholly unintelligible after prolonged study, to note all deviations of the translation from that text (which are usually small), and merely to mention the variations of the revised text, so far as they are intelligible, in the notes.

The writings of *Mânûskîhar* are certainly difficult to translate, not only from the involved and obscure style he affects, but also from the numerous compound epithets he uses, which are not easy either to understand with certainty, or to express clearly in English. The only other Pahlavi writings that approach them in difficulty are those of his brother, *Zâd-sparam*, and those of the author of the third book of the *Dinkard*, who seems to have also been a contemporary writer. To a certain extent, therefore, an involved style of writing may have been a failing of the age in which he lived; and his works, being of an epistolary and hortatory character, would naturally be more abstruse and idiomatic than simple narrative; but much of the obscurity of his style must still be attributed to his own want of clear arrangement of thought and inadequate, though wordy, expression of ideas, the usual sources of all obscure and rambling writing.

When to the difficulty of tracing the thread of an argument

through the involved obscurity of the text is added the perplexity occasioned by the ambiguity of many Pahlavi words, it can be readily understood that no translation is likely to be even approximately accurate, unless it be as literal as possible. The translator has to avoid enough pitfalls, in the shape of false constructions and incorrect readings, without risking the innumerable sources of error offered by the alluring by-paths of free translation. If, therefore, the reader should sometimes meet with strange idioms, or uncouth phrases, he must attribute them to a straining after correctness of translation, however little that correctness may be really attained.

For the purpose of more effectually keeping a curb upon the imagination of the translator, and indicating where he has been compelled to introduce his own ideas, all words not expressed or fully understood in the original text are italicised in the translation. Occasionally, also, the original word is appended to its translation, where either the reading or meaning adopted is unusual, or where a scholar might wish to know the particular Pahlavi word translated.

Some endeavour has likewise been made to introduce greater precision than has hitherto been attempted, in the transliteration of Pahlavi words and names, by taking advantage of the italic system, adopted for this series of Sacred Books of the East, not only for distinguishing variations of sound (as in the use of *g*, *k*, and *s* for the sounds of *j*, soft *ch*, and *sh*, respectively, in English), but also to indicate the use of particular Pahlavi letters, when there are more than one of nearly the same sound. Thus, *d* is used where its sound is represented by 𐬀 *t*; *l* and *r* where they are represented by 𐬀 *n*, *v*, *û*, or by 𐬀 *Av*, *o*; *v* and *z* where they are represented by 𐬀 *k*; and *sil* where those letters are represented by 𐬀 *â*. If, in addition to these particulars, the Pahlavi scholar will remember that the uncircumflexed vowels are not expressed in Pahlavi characters, and the vowel *ö* is expressed, he will find no particular difficulty in restoring any of the transliterated words to their original character, by merely following the

ordinary rules of Pahlavi writing. Without some such mode¹ of distinguishing the different Pahlavi letters used for the same sound, it would be practically impossible to restore the transliteration of any word, new to the reader, to its original Pahlavi form. And even the system here adopted requires the addition of *a* and *â* to represent the vowel 𐬀 *a*, *â* when one of its turns is omitted in writing (as in 𐬀𐬀 *ap*, *âv*, used for 𐬀𐬀 *ap*, *af*; 𐬀 *adîn* used for 𐬀𐬀 *adîn*, &c.), and of *j* or *j* to represent 𐬀 *y* when it has the sound of *g* or English *j*, in order to distinguish it from 𐬀 *k*, *g*.

The general reader should, however, observe that these niceties of transliteration are merely matters of writing, as the exact pronunciation of Pahlavi cannot now be fully ascertained in all its details. There is every reason to suppose that the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi was never pronounced by the Persians as it was written (unless, indeed, in the earliest times); but to transliterate these Semitic words by their Persian equivalents, as the Persians certainly pronounced them, would produce a Pâzand text, instead of a Pahlavi one. If, therefore, we really want the transliteration to represent the Pahlavi text correctly, we must transliterate the Semitic words as they are written, without reference to the mode in which we suppose that the Persians used to read them. With regard to the Persian words, if we call to mind the fact that Pahlavi was the immediate parent of modern Persian, we shall naturally accept the modern Persian pronunciation (stripped of its Arabic corruptions) as a guide, so far as Pahlavi orthography permits, in preference to tracing the sounds of these words downwards from their remote ancestors in ancient Persian or the Avesta. But the pronunciation of words evidently derived directly from the Avesta, as is the case with many religious terms, must clearly depend upon the

¹ Dotted letters might be used, if available, instead of italics; but they are liable to the objection that, independent of the usual blunders due to the ordinary fallibility of human eyesight, it has been found by the translator that a dot, which was invisible on the proofs, will sometimes appear under a wrong letter in the course of printing.

Avesta orthography, so far as the alteration in spelling permits. These are the general rules here adopted, but many uncertainties arise in their practical application, which have to be settled in a somewhat arbitrary manner.

2. THE DĀDĪSTĀN-Ī DĪNĪK.

The term *Dādīstān-ī Dīnik*, 'religious opinions or decisions,' is a comparatively modern name applied to ninety-two questions, on religious subjects, put to the high-priest *Mānūskīhar*, and his answers to the same. These questions appear to have been sent in an epistle from *Mitrō-khūrshêd*, son of *Ātūrō-mahân*, and other *Mazdaworshippers* (Dd. heading and I, 2), and were received by *Mānūskīhar*, who was the leader of the religion (Dd. I, 10, note), in the month of July or August (Dd. I, 17); but it was not till September or October, after he had returned to *Shîrâz* from a tour in the provinces, that he found time to begin his reply which, when completed, was sent by a courier (Dd. I, 26) to his correspondents, but at what date is not recorded.

Regarding the residence of these correspondents, and the year in which these transactions took place, we have no positive information. The correspondents seem to have thanked *Mānūskīhar* for sending them one of his disciples (Dd. I, 3, 4) to act probably as their high-priest; and, from the mode in which the land of *Pârs* is mentioned in Dd. LXVI, 28, LXXXIX, 1, it seems likely that they were not inhabitants of that province; but this conclusion is hardly confirmed, though not altogether contradicted, by the further allusions to *Pârs* in Dd. LXVI, 3, 15, 21, LXXXVIII, 1. With regard to the date of this correspondence we may conclude, from the less authoritative tone assumed by *Mānūskīhar* in his reply (Dd. I, 5-7, 11), as compared with that adopted in his epistles (Ep. III, 17-19), that he was a younger man when he composed the *Dādīstān-ī Dīnik* than when he wrote his epistles; we may, therefore, probably assume that the *Dādīstān-ī Dīnik* was written several years before A. D. 881.

Although the subjects discussed in the *Dāđistān-ī Dīnik* cover a wide range of religious doctrines, legends, and duties, they cannot be expected to give a complete view of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, as they are merely those matters on which *Mitrô-khūrshêd* and his friends entertained doubts, or wished for further information. It is also somewhat doubtful whether the whole of the questions have been preserved, on account of the abrupt transition from the last reply, at the end of Dd. XCIII, to the peroration in Dd. XCIV, and also from the fact that a chapter is alluded to, in Dd. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, which is no longer extant in the text.

The questions, although very miscellaneous in their character, are arranged, to some extent, according to the subjects they refer to, which are taken in the following order:—The righteous and their characteristics; the temporal distress of the good; why mankind was created; good works and their effects; the account of sin and good works to be rendered; the exposure of corpses and reasons for it; the paths, destinations, and fate of departed souls, with the ceremonies to be performed after a death; the contributors to the renovation of the universe; the contest between the good and evil spirits from the creation till the resurrection; works of supererogation; the sacred shirt and thread-girdle; apostasy and its prevention; the use of fire at ceremonies, and other details; duties, payment, and position of priests; details regarding ceremonies; lawful and unlawful trading in corn, wine, and cattle, with a definition of drunkenness; adoption, guardianship, and inheritance; rights of foreigners and infidels; the origin of mankind and next-of-kin marriage; the cost of religious rites; the causes of the rainbow, phases of the moon, eclipses, and river-beds; things acquired through destiny and exertion; the sins of unnatural intercourse and adultery; imperfect prayer before drinking; ceremonies and payments for them; the seven immortal rulers before *Zarātûst*; the sky, the source of pure water, and the cause of rain and storms.

In his replies to these questions *Mānûskihar* displays

much intelligence and wisdom, the morality he teaches is of a high standard for the age in which he lived, and, while anxious to uphold the power and privileges of the priesthood, he is widely tolerant of all deficiencies in the conduct of the laity that do not arise from wilful persistence in sin. The reader will search in vain for any confirmation of the foreign notion that *Mazda*-worship is decidedly more dualistic than Christianity is usually shown to be by orthodox writers, or for any allusion to the descent of the good and evil spirits from a personification of 'boundless time,' as asserted by strangers to the faith. No attempt is made to account for the origin of either spirit, but the temporary character of the power of the evil one, and of the punishment in hell, is distinctly asserted.

Although *Mânûskîhar* does not mention, in his writings, any of the lost Nasks or sacred books of the *Mazda*-worshippers, except the *Hûspârûm* (Dd. LXI, 3) and the *Sakâdûm* (Ep. I, viii, 1, 6, 7), he certainly had access to many Pahlavi books which are now no longer extant; hence he is able to give us more information than we find elsewhere regarding some of the legendary personages mentioned in Dd. II, 10, XXXVI, 4, 5, XLVIII, 33, XC, 3; he hints that the second month of the year (April-May) was called *Zaremaya* in the *Avesta* (Dd. XXXI, 14); and he mentions two places, instead of one, intermediate between heaven and hell, one for the souls of those not quite good enough for heaven, and one for those not quite bad enough for hell (Dd. XXIV, 6, XXXIII, 2).

The present translation of this work is not the first that has been attempted. Shortly before the late Professor Haug left India he delivered a lecture on the Parsi religion to a large assemblage of Parsis in Bombay, at their request, and at his desire the sum of 900 rûpîs, out of the net proceeds of the entrance-tickets sold, was offered as a prize for an edition of the Pahlavi text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînik* with a *Gugarâti* translation and glossary. Some years afterwards this prize was awarded to Mr. Shehriarji Dadabhoy and Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, for their joint *Gugarâti* translation of the work, which still, however, remains unpublished

for want of funds, and has, therefore, been inaccessible to the present translator.

3. THE EPISTLES OF MÂNÛSKĪHAR.

It has been already stated (see pp. xiii, xiv) that *Zâd-sparam*, a younger brother of *Mânûskîhar*, after having been at *Sarakhs*, in the extreme north-east of *Khurâsân*, where he seems to have associated with the heretical *Tughazghuz*, was appointed high-priest of *Sîrkân*, south or south-west of *Kirmân*¹. Shortly after his arrival there he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification and other matters, which was so unpalatable to the *Mazda*-worshippers of that place that they wrote an epistle to *Mânûskîhar*, complaining of the conduct of his brother (Ep. I, i, 2, ii, 1).

In reply to this complaint, which was sent by a special courier (Ep. I, i, 2), and after going to *Shîrâs* and holding a general assembly of the priests and elders (Ep. II, i, 11), *Mânûskîhar* wrote his first epistle, completed on the 15th March 881 (Ep. I, xi, 12), in which he condemned the practices decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, to whom he sent a confidential agent, named *Yasdân-pânak* (Ep. I, xi, 1, 2, 6, 10, II, vii, 2), with a copy of this epistle and a further one to himself, which has not been preserved, for the purpose of inducing his brother to withdraw his decree and conform to the usual customs.

It would appear that *Yasdân-pânak* was not very successful in his mission, as we find *Mânûskîhar* writing a general epistle (Ep. III) to all the *Mazda*-worshippers in *Îrân*, in the following June or July (Ep. III, 21), denouncing as heretical the mode of purification decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, and ordering an immediate return to former customs. At the same time (Ep. II, vii, 2, viii, 1) he wrote a second epistle (Ep. II) to his brother, as he had already

¹ The city of *Kirmân* was itself called *Sîrgân*, or *Sîrgân*, in the middle ages, and is evidently mentioned by that name in *Ouseley's Oriental Geography*, pp. 139, 143, though the *Sîrgân* of pp. 138, 141 of the same work was clearly further south. Which of these two towns was the *Sîrkân* of these epistles, may, therefore, be doubtful.

promised in Ep. I, xi, 2, and, after referring to an epistle (now lost) which he had received from *Zâd-sparam* in the previous November or December, he proceeded to enforce his views by a judicious intermingling of argument, entreaty, and threats. He also contemplated making preparations (Ep. I, xi, 4, II, vii, 3) for travelling himself to *Sîrkân*, notwithstanding his age (Ep. II, ix, 1), to arrange the matters in dispute upon a satisfactory basis. Whether he actually undertook this journey is unknown, but that his brother must have finally submitted to his authority appears from *Zâd-sparam* retaining his position in the south, as has been already noticed (p. xiv).

The matter in dispute between *Zâd-sparam* and the orthodox *Mazda*-worshippers may seem a trivial one to people of other religions, but, inasmuch as the ceremonial uncleanness of a person insufficiently purified after contact with the dead would contaminate every one he associated with, the sufficiency of the mode of purification was quite as important to the community, both priests and laity, as avoidance of breach of caste-rules is to the Hindû, or refraining from sacrifices to heathen gods was to the Jew, the early Christian, or the Muhammadan. And much more important than any disputes about sacraments, infallibility, apostolic succession, ritual, or observance of the Sabbath can possibly be to any modern Romanist or Protestant.

In his mode of dealing with this matter *Mânûskîhar* displays at once the moderation and tact of a statesman accustomed to responsibility, the learning and zeal of a well-informed priest, and the kindly affection of a brother. That he was not without rivals and enemies appears from his casual allusions to *Zaratûst*, the club-footed, and *Âtûrô-pâd* in Ep. II, i, 13, v, 14, ix, 11; but in all such allusions, as well as in his denunciation of heretical opinions, he refrains from coarse invective, and avoids the use of exaggerated language, such as too often disfigures and weakens the arguments in polemical discussions.

Indirectly these epistles throw some light upon the condition of the *Mazda*-worshippers after more than two

centuries of ceaseless struggle with the ever-advancing flood of Muhammadanism which was destined to submerge them. Shirâs, Sirkân, Kirmân, Râi, and Sarakhs are still mentioned as head-quarters of the old faith; and we are told of assemblies at Shirâs and among the Tughazghuz, the former of which appears to have had the chief control of religious matters in Pârs, Kirmân, and the south, acting as a council to the high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân, who was recognised as the leader of the religion (Dd. XLV, 5). We also learn, from Ep. I, iii, 11, II, v, 14, that the leaders of the *Mazda*-worshippers, if not their high-priests, were still in the habit of maintaining troops; and, from Ep. II, i, 9, that when a high-priest became very old his worldly duties were performed by four of the most learned priests, forming a committee, which had full authority to deliberate and act for him in all worldly matters. *Mânûskîhar* even speaks of emigrating by sea to China, or by land to Asia Minor (Ep. II, viii, 5), in order to escape from the annoyances of his position.

But the statements which are most important to the Pahlavi scholar, in these epistles, are the date attached to the third epistle, corresponding to A.D. 881, and the mention of Nishahpûhar in Ep. I, iv, 15, 17 as the supreme officiating priest and councillor of king Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579), engaged apparently in writing commentaries on the Avesta. The date of these epistles not only limits that of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* to the latter half of the ninth century, but also fixes those of the larger recension of the *Bundahis* and of the latest revision of the *Dinkard* within the same period, because it is stated in Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11 that the writer of that chapter was a contemporary of *Zâd-sparam*, son of *Yûdân-Yim*, and *Âtûr-pâd*, son of *Hêmîd*, the former of whom was evidently the brother of *Mânûskîhar*, and the latter is mentioned in *Dinkard* III, ccccxiii as the latest editor of that work. The actual compiler of a great part of the *Dinkard* (especially of the fourth and fifth books) was, however, the somewhat earlier writer *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukhûzâd* (Dd. LXXXVIII, 8, Ep. I, iii, 9). The name of Nishahpûhar is also mentioned as that

of a commentator in the Pahlavi Vendidad and Nirangistân, which works must, therefore, have been revised since the middle of the sixth century. And as we are informed in the book of Ardâ-Virâf (I, 35) that 'there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikhshahpûr,' we ought probably to refer that book to the same age. These epistles, therefore, enable us, for the first time, to fix the probable dates of the latest extensive revisions of six of the most important Pahlavi works that are still extant; and from the relationship of these to others we can readily arrive at safer conclusions, regarding the age of Pahlavi literature in general, than have been hitherto possible.

4. THE APPENDIX.

For the sake of elucidating certain matters, mentioned in the writings of Mânûshihar, further information than could be given in the foot-notes has been added in the shape of an appendix.

To a brief summary of the Avesta legends, relating to the ancient hero Keresâsp, has been added a translation of a Pahlavi legend regarding the fate of his soul, in which several of his more famous exploits are detailed. This legend is found in the Pahlavi Rivâyat preceding the Dâdistân-i Dînik in the manuscripts BK and J, and is evidently derived from the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, whose contents, as described in the ninth book of the Dinkard, are also given. It is likewise found in the later Persian Rivâyats, with several modifications which are duly noticed.

The Nirang-i Kustî, or ceremony of tying the sacred thread-girdle, is also described in detail, with a translation of the ritual accompanying it, partly from actual observation, and partly from Gugarâti accounts of the rite.

It having become necessary to ascertain with certainty whether the term 'next-of-kin marriage' was a justifiable translation of khvétûk-das, as used by Pahlavi writers, an extensive examination of all accessible passages, which throw any light upon the meaning of the word, has been

made. The result of this enquiry can be best understood from the details collected, but it may be stated in general terms that, though 'marriage among kinsfolk' might fairly represent the varying meaning of *khvêtûk-das* in different ages, its usual signification in Pahlavi literature is more accurately indicated by 'next-of-kin marriage.'

Some apology is perhaps due to the Parsi community for directing attention to a subject which they consider disagreeable. But, by the publication of a portion of the *Dinkard*, they have themselves placed the most important passage, bearing on the subject, within the reach of every European Orientalist; thus rendering it easy for any prejudiced translator to represent the practice of such marriages as having been general, instead of their being so distasteful to the laity as to require a constant exertion of all the influence that the priesthood possessed, in order to recommend them, even in the darkest ages of the faith. To avoid such one-sided views of the matter, as well as to hinder them in others, has been the special aim of the present translator in trying to ascertain the exact meaning of the obscure texts he had to deal with.

The translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd*, regarding the *Bareshnûm* ceremony and the purifications requisite after finding a corpse in the wilderness, will be found necessary for explaining many allusions and assertions in the *Epistles of Mânûskêihar*.

The text followed in all passages translated from the *Dinkard* is that contained in the manuscript now in the library of *Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji*, the high-priest of the *Kadmi* sect of *Parsis* in *Bombay*. It was written A. D. 1669, and was brought from *Persia* to *Surat* by *Mullâ Bahman* in 1783. All other known copies of the *Dinkard* are descended from this manuscript, except a codex, brought from *Persia* by the late *Professor Westergaard* in 1843, which contains one-fifth of the *Dinkard* mostly written in 1574, and is now in the *University Library* at *Kopenhagen*.

For translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd* the text adopted, wherever available and not evidently defective, has been that of *L4*, a manuscript of the *Vendidâd* with

Pahlavi, Z. and P. IV, in the India Office Library in London. The date of this manuscript has been lost with its last folio, but its text is in the same handwriting as that of three others, in Kopenhagen and Bombay, which were written A. D. 1323-4. A considerable portion of the beginning of this manuscript has also been lost, and is replaced by modern folios of no particular value.

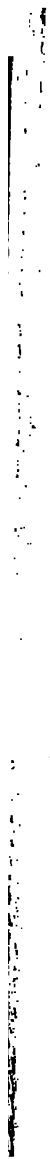
In conclusion, the translator must take the opportunity of thankfully acknowledging the kindness and readiness with which Dastûr Peshotanji Behrâmji Sanjânâ, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, and Dastûr Jâmâspji Mino-chiharjî Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ, of the same city, have always furnished him with any information he applied for, not only on those matters specially mentioned in the foot-notes, but also on many other occasions.

E. W. WEST.

MUNICH,
September, 1882.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; Âf. Zarat. for Âfrîngân-i Zaratûst; anc. Pers. for ancient Persian; App. for Appendix to this volume; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Virâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; B29 for Persian Rivâyat MS. No. 29 of the University Library in Bombay; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BK for an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay; Chald. for Chaldee; comp. for compare; Dd. for Dâđîstân-i Dînik, as translated in this volume; Dk. for Dînkard; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûsîhar, as translated in this volume; Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Gen. for Genesis; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd edition; Hn. for Hâđôkkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; Introd. for Introduction; J. for Dd. MS. belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; K35 for Dd. MS. No. 35 of the University Library in Kopenhagen; L4 for Vend. MS. No. 4 of the India Office Library in London; Lev. for Leviticus; M5, M7, M10, M14 for MSS. Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West; n. for foot-note; nom. for nominative case; p. for page; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; p. p. for past participle; Sir. for Sirozah, ed. Westergaard; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; TD for Bd. MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay; TK for Dd. MS. belonging to the same; trans. D. for translated by Darmesteter, in vol. iv of this series; Vend., Visp., and Yas. for Vendidâđ, Visparađ, and Yasna, ed. Spiegel; Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard; Z.D.M.G. for Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Zs. for Selections of Zâđ-sparam, as translated in vol. v of this series.



DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK

OR

THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS

OF

MÂNÛSKÎHAR, SON OF YÛDÂN-YIM,

DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts merely indicate the beginning of each question and reply.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *h* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ö*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character (see the latter part of § 1 of the Introduction).

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meaning of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K₃₅ written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochi-harji in Bombay.

K₃₅ (probably written A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M₅ (written A. D. 1723), a MS. of miscellaneous texts in Persian letters, No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M₁₄ (a modern copy of a MS. in the library of the Parsi high-priest in Bombay), No. 14 in the same Collection.

TD, a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Môbad Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay.

DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK.

SOME chapters of the enquiries which Mitrô-khûrshêd, son of Âtûr-ô-mahân¹, and others of the good religion made of the glorified (anoshakô-rûbân) Mânûsêihar², son of Yûdân-Yim, and the replies given by him in explanation.

CHAPTER I.

o. Through the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd and all good beings, all the heavenly and earthly angels, and every creature and creation that Aûharmazd set going for his own angels and all pertaining to the *celestial* spheres.

¹ The name Âtûr-mâhân occurs in a Pahlavi inscription, dated A. Y. 378 (A. D. 1009), in one of the Kanheri caves, near Bombay (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and Adharmâh is mentioned in Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 203; so that this name must have been commonly used by Parsis in former times, though unknown now.

² He calls himself pontiff and director of the priests of Pârs and Kirmân in A. Y. 250 = A. D. 881, and was, therefore, the leader of the religion (see Chaps. XLV, 5, XCIV, 13, and Ep. III, 21). Besides these titles of pêsûpâi, 'leader,' farmâdâr, 'director,' and rad, 'pontiff or executive high-priest,' he is also called aêrpat khûdâi, 'priestly lordship,' in the heading to Ep. III, and has the general title aêrpat, 'priest,' in those of Ep. I and II. The reading of the name of his father, Yûdân-Yim (Pers. *Guvân-Gam*, 'the youthful Gamshêd'), is merely a guess; the Parsis read either Gôshna-gam or Gôdân-dam; and, perhaps, Gûshna-dam, 'breathing virility,' is a likely alternative reading.

1. *To* those of the good religion, who are these enquirers owing to devout force of demeanour and strength of character, the type of wisdom and standard of ability—and of whom, moreover, the questions, seeking wisdom, contemplating good works, and investigating religion, are specified—the blessing *and* reply of Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, are these:—2. That is, forasmuch as with full affection, great dignity, and grandeur you *have* blessed me in this enquiring epistle¹, so much as you *have* blessed, *and* just as you *have* blessed, with full measure *and* perfect profusion, may it happen fully likewise unto you, in the first place, and *to your* connections, separately for yourselves and dependents; may it come upon *you* for a long period, and may it be connected with a happy end.

3. *As to* that which you ordered to write about wishes for an interview and conversation *with* me, and the friendliness and regard for religion of yourselves *and* our former *disciple*² (lanmanak kâdmôn)—who is a servant of the sacred beings (yazdânō)³ and a fellow-soldier in struggling with the fiend, alike persistent in reliance upon the good religion of Mazda-worship—I am equally desirous of that one path of righteousness when *its* extension is to a place in the best existence⁴, *and* equally hopeful

¹ Regarding this epistle, nothing further is known that can be gathered from the text of this reply to it, which gives the substance of the questions it contained.

² This disciple appears to have been previously sent by Mânûskîhar to the community he is addressing, most probably to serve as their high-priest.

³ The word is plural, like Elohim in the book of Genesis, but it means 'God' in Persian.

⁴ Another name for Garôdmân, the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûhar Mazda (see Sls. VI, 3, 4).

of resurrection (*âkhešisnō*) at the renovation of the best existence¹. 4. *As to* the interview and important conversation of that *disciple* of ours (*mânak*), and his going, and that also which he expounded of the religion—that of him who is intimate in interview and conversation with him who is wise and righteous the stunted² good works are then more developing³—and *as to* the degree of praise which you ordered to write concerning me, much greater than reason, and the important statements full of the observations of friendship as to kind regards, my course about these is also *that* which *leads* to gratitude.

5. That which you ordered to write about the way of knowing and understanding not being for any one else but for *your* servant, *was* owing to your affection, and for the sake of kind regard; but on account of the importance of truth *it* is more expressly to be regarded *as* being proper to write also to other spiritual⁴ men, as to the learning which is more fully studied by them. 6. For even with the perplexing struggle of the fiend, *and* the grievous devastation and collapse (*nizôrîh*) which have happened to religious people, after all, through the persistence (*khvâparîh*) of the sacred beings even

¹ That is, when this transitory world is purified and made permanent, so as to form a part of heaven, which is expected to take place at the resurrection.

² Pahl. *kazd*, which may be compared with Pers. *kaz*, 'distorted,' or may be a miswriting of Pahl. *kas*, 'small.'

³ The modern MSS., M14 and J, add 'and those which are great are more attainable.'

⁴ The word is *maînôk* (*mînavad*), but the omission of one stroke would make it *magôg*, 'priestly,' which was probably the original reading.

now *there are* pontiffs (*radânö*), priests, high-priests, judges, and also other religious leaders of those of the religion in various quarters. 7. Moreover, the other priests *and* spiritual¹ men *here* enumerated *have* well considered the commentary (*zand*) of the text (*mânsar*) which is muttered, are acquainted with opinions explaining the religion, *and* are, in many places, the cause of preferring good works; with whom also, on account of *their* understanding *and* knowing about such opinions, the sacred beings are pleased.

8. The desires expressed, and the good wishes as to what is mine and *has* happened *to me*, which you ordered to write, are likewise marks of friendship and kind regard, and owing to them a like measure of friendship and kind regard becomes your² own.

9. *As to* that which you ordered to write in much friendship *and* commendation and profusely about me—as regards the administration of the realm (*kêshvar dastôbarih*), *of* the unity without counterpart (*dadîgarih*), and the singleness co-extensive with any duality—if the writing of that, too, *were* owing to your friendship, even then it seemed *to* me disquieting, owing to this *being* so much praise.

10. If in these times and countries *there be* an understanding of the time and a boasting about any one, if *it be* graceful as regards him who is a leader of the religion (*dîn ö pêsupâi*) of long-continued faith, I consider it not suitable for myself³. 11. Though

¹ See p. 5, note 4.

² All MSS. have 'thy.'

³ Although he was himself the 'director of the profession of priests' of Pârs (see Chap. XCIV, 13), an office which was then equivalent to that of 'leader of the religion' (see Chap. XLV, 5).

the praise of a leader (*sardâr*), raised by agreeable voices¹, is uttered about me, yet I am not pleased when they extol my greatness *more* than *that of* their own leader; for my wish is *for* that praise which is *due* to my own rank and similar limits, and seems suitable to me; and humility in oneself is as correct as grandeur among inferiors.

12. That which is about the lengthy writing of questions, *as to* your worldly circumstances (*stihâ-nihâ*) and worldly affairs, *has* also shown this, that I should write a reply at a time in which I have leisure. 13. That is more important on account of your well-expressed questions *and* boldness about ambiguous answers, and *your* ardent desire for the setting aside of time; for the setting aside, or not beginning, of a reply is implied. 14. *But* owing to the perplexing² struggle on account of the fiend there is little leisure for quick *and* searching thought, and owing to that which is undecided³ *there is little* for indispensable (*frêzvânîkô*) work.

15. As to a reply *at* a period of leisure time, the occurrence of the time appointed is manifested in everything, apart even from the kind regards of friendship, and the collection of information whereby, owing to my little leisure, it is declared unto you. 16. And I have, too, this confidence, that your questions are written with religious faith *and* desiring religious decision; *and* in the reply the statement of reasons from revelation (*dînô*) is manifold, for

¹ This translation of *mânô-advâzikô-âkhezakô* is somewhat doubtful.

² Or 'prodigious.'

³ That is, awaiting the high-priest's judicial and ecclesiastical decision.

guidance which is not destitute of wisdom and *which* is without risk from every kind of importunity¹.

17. And *this* same epistle² came in the month Tir³, at such season as, owing to entreaties for three years from the country-folk (dêsikânö), and the burden of troubles of the offspring (sarakö) of those of the good religion, the much importunity for arranging *what was* undecided among them—which, inasmuch as I had no power about investigating that trouble and suffering, *was* the more indispensable—the arrangements for the preservation and education of disciples⁴, and many private *matters* which had accumulated, I obtained no *opportunity* for properly looking *over these* same questions till the month Shatvatrô⁵, when I came to Shirâz⁶ and had *at* various times a little leisure.

18. And I looked *over these* same questions; and when I saw the compact writing (ham-dâdakîhâyektîbûnisnih) it then seemed to me more important to make each chapter of the questions separate and more explanatory. 19. And I gave the questions to a writer, in the same copy which you ordered to write, and instructed *him* to write the various chapters, every single question in one chapter; and the several opinions, both due to my acquaintance with the religion and my remembrance in perfection,

¹ Or 'over-persuasion.'

² See § 2.

³ The fourth month of the Parsi year, which corresponded to July–August in the time of Mânûskîhar.

⁴ That is, candidates for the priesthood and young priests.

⁵ The sixth month of the Parsi year, which then corresponded to September–October.

⁶ From this it would appear that the Dâdistân-î Dînk was written at Shirâz which, being the principal city of Pârs, was probably the high-priest's usual residence.

both of the decisions (*dastôbarîh*) of the ancients and as regards wisdom, are the replies I intend to write below the questions.

20. When there is nothing in such as you ask, concerning which I consider such otherwise, as I write, than what is like that which was once advisedly our different opinion from those high-priests of the ancients who *were* better and wiser, and have become our lord (*ahvô*), master (*radô*), and high-priest, I *have* written that¹, even though the *usual* decision on the same subject is such as our high-priests, who are of our family, *have* maintained in particular.

21. Afterwards, moreover, about the sayings of that high-priest whose custom is otherwise there is no difference of opinion *expressed*²; and if there be *any one* for whose opinion I *have* acquired perfect reverence, a priestly man acquainted with the religion, who understands *and* who manages intelligently, by holding in reverence the ancient treatises and truth, and the sayings of the high-priests, whatever *of his* is to the purpose, as regards the reply, this also is written as successful illustration.

22. If owing to such cause it be not fully perceived, or regarding the decision *it be not* clear, *it is* chiefly not owing to the incompleteness of the decision of revelation in clearness of demonstration and correctness of meaning, but owing to our incomplete attainment to understanding the authoritative decrees (*nikêzak fragûftô*)³ of the religion. 23. From the

¹ That is, his own different opinion apparently, but the writer's sentences are often so involved as to confuse the reader.

² Meaning, apparently, that he does not propose to mention the opinions of others unless he approves of them.

³ The MSS. have *fragûftô*, possibly Pers. *fargûd*, 'miracle.'

imperfection (avêhîh) of that also which is asked of us the hasty thinking, notably therein, owing to the grievousness of the times, is even till now devoid of a distinct knowledge, interpreting the texts *about* the compassion of the good spirits, and *regarding* a clearer demonstration of the exposition of revelation which is thereby¹ more fully declared, as regards religious practice, from two sources, one is from the treatises which are an exposition of the rules *and* wisdom of the leader of the religion, and one—which is more descriptively expressed (mâdî-gânötar hankhetûntô)—is the writings (vutakö) of various glorified ancients, those who *were* the great leaders of those of the primitive faith². 24. Owing to that³, as their writings (nipîkân) about the demonstration of reasons, on account of depth *and* minute wording, are not well known, even to minute observers *and* penetrative (vêhramakö) understandings, and through the little diffusion (frâgö-pa dîkhûîh), likewise, of difficult words, *there* may be doubts *among* the less intelligent, so, about the purport of *these* same questions, if there be *anything* which is wanted by you more clear and more plain in meaning, *or* a nearer way to a true interpretation, not without clearness, of *any* decision of a learned leader of the religion, I *will* give a reply, whenever you ask and I am able, so far as my knowledge and want of power *permit*.

25. When *one has* to observe the nature of the attributes (gôhârânö) of the sacred beings the

¹ That is, revelation is declared by the exposition.

² The true Mazda-worshipping religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst (see Sls. I, 3).

³ Want of knowledge referred to in § 23.

investigator's great advantage is the perfection, peace, equipment with righteousness, and fiend-destroying power of his own people; *and* since you are made aware of the result of wishes and actions, and are directed by me, many new blessings also *arise* from you.

26. That which is written to you yourselves and unto all, in the beginning and even the end, is completely adapted to your own several wants; may it have an exalted end, with one courier (aê-barîdō) and continuously from beginning to end, and also perpetually!

27. A fair copy (bûrzišnikō pakēnō) of the questions, as well as the replies, is this; so that, when there is nothing in it which owing to that cause¹ is different, I am of opinion as is *here* written.

CHAPTER II.

1. First you ask thus: Why is a righteous man created better than the stars and moon *and* sun and fire of Aûharmazd, and is called in revelation greater and better than the spiritual creation, *and* also than that which is worldly?

2. The reply is this, that the greatness and goodness of advance in wisdom and just judgment over the creatures arise from proficiency (hûnar).

3. Justice is the one good proficiency over the creatures, the means of wisdom are great, and praise bestowed is the most effectual performance

¹ Owing to the copying. The sentence is equivalent to the modern phrase, 'errors excepted.'

of what is desirable (kâmisn-karîh). 4. For all three are mutually connected together; since the manifestation of justice is through wisdom, and its advantage is the performance of what is desirable for the creator; wisdom is the performance of what is desirable for the requirements of the creator, and its weapon (zênô) is justice; and the desire of the creator, which is progress, is in wisdom with justice. 5. All three are great among the creatures, and their lodgment in the superior beings and righteous men is spiritual, in the spirit which is the pure guardian angel¹, *in* the understanding for encountering, averting, smiting, and prostrating (khvâpâk) the fiend, *in* the army of angels, and *in* the sovereignty of the far-seeing (dûr-vênâkô)² spirit, Aûharmazd; and, materially, in the worldly equipment and mutual connection of body *and* life. 6. And their appliances are the wisdom and worldly efficacy of treatises on the wise adoption of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, *and* the relinquishment *and* discontinuance of evil thoughts, evil words, *and* evil deeds. 7. And their acquirer is the worldly ruler who is providing for Aûharmazd, and approving and stimulating the pure religion, a praiser of the good and pure creator, and a director of persistence in destruction of the fiend. 8. And in the pro-

¹ The fravâhar or fravashi, which is the prototype or spiritual counterpart supposed to have been created in the beginning for each good creature and creation afterwards produced, whether material or immaterial, and whose duty is to represent the creature and watch over its interests in the spiritual world.

² This word is badly written in K₃₅, so that it has become zôrinâk in later MSS., which might perhaps mean 'strength-exerting.'

mulgation (rûbâkô-dahisnîh) of the good and religious liturgy (mânsar), the coming of the good cause of the resurrection, and the production of the renovation *of the universe*¹ are *his* cöoperation and his own thanksgiving; and over the creatures of *this* prior world *he* is a guardian, defender, and manager.

9. And *such rulers* are great and pre-eminent; yet every man is not for that greatness, but it is mentioned as to superior beings *and* concerning righteous men, in whom it *has* arisen, and the best are the three who are the beginning, middle, *and* end of the creation. 10. One is the pure man, Gâyômarð, who was its first rational praiser; he in whose keeping *was* the whole creation of the sacred beings, from *its* beginning and immaturity unto the final completion of the worldly creatures, over which *was* the exercise of goodness of his well-destined progeny, such as Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrup, Yim, and Frêdûn², such as the apostles of the religion, like Zaratûst, Hûshêdar, and Hûshêdar-mâh³, and the producers of the renovation *of the universe*, like Sôshâns⁴, Rôshanô-kashm, and

¹ Which is expected to take place about the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 32).

² The first four rulers of the world (omitting the usurper Dahâk) after Gâyômarð (see Bd. XXXI, 1-3, 7). The five names of these primeval sovereigns are corruptions of the Avesta names, Gaya-maretan, Haoshyangha, Takhmô-urupa, Yima, and Thraê-taona. The third name is always written Tâkhmôriðô in Dd.

³ Corruptions of Av. Zarathustra, Ukhshyad-ereta, and Ukhshyad-nemangh. The last two are future apostles still expected by the Parsis to restore their religion to its original purity, in preparation for the resurrection (see Bd. XXXII, 2-10, Byt. III, 13, 43-48, 52, 53).

⁴ Av. Saoshyâs. The last of the future apostles, in whose

Khûr-kašm¹. 11. The approver² of the enterprises (rûbâk-dahisnihâ) of cöoperators, the purely-praising and just worshipper of the sacred beings through the strength of the spirit, the disabler of the worldly activity of the fiend as regards worldly bodies, and the one of pure religion—which is his charge (spôr)³, the revelation of the place of the beneficent spirit and of the destruction of the depravity of the evil spirit⁴, the subjugation (khvâpîsnö) of the fiend, the completion of the triumph of the creator, and the unlimited progress of the creatures—is the upholder of Mazda-worship. 12. And likewise through the goodness of Gâyô-mard, which is the begetting of Zaratûst, *he* is also just; likewise through the goodness of Sôshâns, by which he is the progeny of Zaratûst, *he* is also progressive in every good thought, good word, and good deed, *more* than the creatures which are produced with a hope of the religion, and equally thankful. 13. And one is the producer of bodies⁵,

time the universe is expected to be renovated and the resurrection to take place (see Bd. XXX, 4-27, XXXII, 8, Byt. III, 62).

¹ These two names, which mean 'bright-eyed' and 'sunny-eyed,' are the Av. Rao^{ka}s-kaêshman and Hvare-kaêshman of Fravardîn Yt. 128 (see also Chap. XXXVI, 4).

² This is Zaratûst (see § 12), the righteous apostle of the middle portion of the history of creation referred to in § 9.

³ Or 'which is wholly his.'

⁴ These two spirits are supposed to be the authors of all the good and evil, respectively, that exists in creation. They appear, originally, to have been both supposed to spring from Aûhar^{ma}zd, who speaks of 'the more beneficent of my two spirits' in Yas. XIX, 21; but in later times, and throughout the Pahlavi literature, the beneficent spirit is identified with Aûhar^{ma}zd, and the origin of the evil spirit is left in obscurity.

⁵ The renovated bodies of the future existence which are prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25-27).

the renovator (frashagar) Sôshâns, who is the putter down, with complete subjugation from the world, of the glorification of fiends *and* demons, and of the contention with angels in apostasy and heterodoxy of various kinds and unatoned for; and the completer of the renovation through the full continuance of the glorification of the angels, and the perfect continuance of the pure religion.

14. And through that excellent, unblemished, brotherly work¹ *such a ruler* may be seen above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all removal of darkness, the advance of illumination which is the display (tôgîsnô) of the days *and* nights of the world². 15. Regarding the same completion of the renovation *of the universe* it is said in the revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, that this great light is the vesture of the like righteous men.

CHAPTER III.

1. The second is that which you ask thus: For what purpose is a righteous man created for the world, and in what manner is it necessary for him to exist in the world?

2. The reply is this, that the creator created the creatures for progress, which is his wish; and

¹ Mentioned in §§ 7, 8.

² M₁₄ and J have '*such rulers*' own praise is above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all good creatures; for that, too, which may be seen when the light of the sun is owing to the removal of darkness, and the removal is the advance of illumination of the world, is the display of days *and* nights.'

it is necessary for us to promote whatever is his wish, so that we may obtain whatever is our wish.

3. And, since that persistent creator is powerful, whatever is our wish, and so far as we remain very faithful, such is as *it were* deserving of his wish, which is for our obtainment of whatever is our wish¹.

4. The miracle of these creatures was fully achieved (*āvôriđö*) not unequally, and the gain (*gûâftākö*) also from the achievement of the same miracle is manifest; that is, achieving, and knowing² that his achievement is with design (*kēm*) and his desire is goodness, when the designed achievement, which is his creature, and also the goodness, which is his wish, are certain, and likewise, owing to the perfect ability which is due to the creator, the wish is achieved, *it* is manifest.

5. And, afterwards, it is decided by wisdom that *he has* achieved it, and the creatures, as perfected for the complete progress which is his wish, lapse into evil; and since when evil exists good becomes the subjugation of evil—for when evil is not complete, and after it is expressly said that his creatures are created for his own will, the progress due to subjugations of evil is on account of the good completed—it is similarly testified, *in accordance* with the will aforesaid, that it³ is achieved.

6. The creatures are for the performance of what is desirable for the creator, and the performance of what is desirable for the creator is necessary

¹ Reading *kâmakö* instead of the *dâmakö* of the MSS., which was, no doubt, originally *gâmakö*.

² M14 has 'knowing perfectly.'

³ The subjugation of evil apparently.

for two *purposes*, which are the practice of worship *and* contention. 7. As the worship is that of the persistent creator, who is a friend to his own creatures, *and* the contention is that with the fiend—the contender who is an enemy to the creation of the creator—that great worship is a pledge, most intimate to one's self, of the utmost contention also, and a pledge for the prosperity owing to the friend subjugating by a look which is a contender with the enemy, the great endeavour of the acquirers of reliance upon any mortals whatever¹. 8. For when the persistent *one* accomplished that most perfect and wholly miraculous creation of the lord, and his unwavering look—which *was* upon the coming on of the wandering evil spirit, the erratic, unobservant spirit—*was* unmingled with the sight of an eye², he made a spirit of observant temperament, which *was* the necessary soul, the virtuous lord of the body moving into the world. 9. And the animating life, the preserving guardian spirit, the acquiring intellect, the protecting understanding, the deciding wisdom, the demeanour which is itself a physician, the impelling strength, the eye for *what* is seen, the ear for *what* is heard, the nose for *what* is smelt, the mouth for recognising flavour, the body for approaching the assembly (*pidrâm*) of the righteous, the heart for

¹ Referring probably to the strong influence of a steady eye upon all living creatures.

² This appears to be the meaning of *agûmêgisnô-i val vênâftâkô dîdag*; which phrase is followed by the conjunction 'and,' so that the original text means that when the creator had done as in §§ 8, 9, he proceeded to act as in § 10. This conjunction, for the sake of clearness, is here transferred to the beginning of § 10.

thinking, the tongue for speaking, the hand for working, the foot for walking, these which make life comfortable, these which are developments in creating, these which are to join the body, these which are to be considered perfected, are urged on by him continuously, and the means of industry of the original body are arranged advisedly. 10. *And* by proper regulation, and the recompense of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, he announced and adorned conspicuous, patient, and virtuous conduct; *and* that procurer of the indispensable did not forget to keep men *in* his own true service and proper bounds, the supreme sovereignty of the creator.

11. *And man* became a pure glorifier and pure praiser of that all-good friend, through the progress which is his wish. 12. Because pure friendship is owing to sure meditation on every virtue, and from its existence no harm whatever arose; pure glorifying is owing to glorifying every goodness, and from its existence no vileness whatever arose; and pure praising is owing to all prosperity, and from its existence no distress whatever arose. 13. *And* pronouncing the benedictions he is steadfast *in* the same pure friendship, just glorifying, and expressive praising, *which* are performed even as though Vohûman were kept lodging in the thoughts, Srôsh in the words, and Ard in the actions¹. 14. That, moreover, which is owing to the lodgment of Vohûman in the thoughts is virtu-

¹ These three angels are personifications of the Avesta terms vohû-manô, 'good thought,' sraôsha, 'listening, obedience,' and areta, 'righteous.' The coming of Vohûman ('the good spirit' of § 17) and of Srôsh is mentioned in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, c d).

ously rushing unto true propitiation from the heart, and keeping selfishness away from the desires; the lodgment of Srôsh in the words is owing to him who is intelligent *being* a true speaker, and him who is unintelligent being a listener to *what is* true and *to* the high-priests; and the lodgment of Ard in the actions is declared to be owing to promoting that which is known *as* goodness, and abstaining *from* that which *one* does not know. 15. And these three benefits¹ which *have been* recited are sent down (farôstakö) in two ways that the ancients *have* mentioned, which are *that* deliberately taken and *that* they should deliberately leave², whose means are wisdom and proper exertion.

16. And his (man's) high-priest is he whose instigation is to keep him truly *in accordance* with the revelation (dînô) of the sacred beings, and is the origin of his pure meditation which is truly through goodness like Vohûman's. 17. As the religious of the ancients *have* religiously said, that of him who keeps the goodness of Vohûman lodging in the thoughts the true way is then that of the good spirit. 18. The Mazda-worshipper understands the will of the creator in the true way, and grows and acquires by performing what is desirable for the creator, which obtains the benefit of the renovation.

19. A more concise reply is this, that a righteous man is the creature by whom is accepted that occupation which is provided for him, and is fully

¹ The lodgments of the three angels.

² Meaning, probably, the deliberate adoption of good conduct and relinquishment of evil (compare Chap. VII, 7).

watchful in the world as to his not being deceived by the rapacious fiend. 20. And as a determiner, by wisdom, of the will of the creator—*one* who is himself a propitiator and understander, and a promoter of the understanding of goodness—and of whatever *pertains* to him (the creator), *he* is a giver of heed thereto; and it is necessary for him to be thus, so that such greatness *and* goodness may also be his more securely in the spiritual *existence*.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The third question is that you ask thus: For what reason does this greatness¹ of a righteous man exist?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is for the performance of what is desirable for the creator by the *Mazda*-worshipper; because he strives unhesitatingly that the way for the performance of what is desirable for the creator *may* be the propitiation² which is his desire, and that desired propitiation² becomes perfect through sound wisdom. 3. The wisdom by which he understands about the desire of the heavenly angels is not appointed (*vakht*), but is the true, pure religion which is knowledge of³ the spirits, the science of sciences, the teacher of the

¹ Referring to Chap. II, 1, and not to Chap. III, 20; otherwise it might be supposed that the questions were contrived to suit the replies.

² Or, perhaps, 'understanding.'

³ K35 has 'obedience to' by inserting a medial stroke in *dânisnō*, which converts it into *sinvisnō*, but is probably a mistake.

teaching of the angels, and the source of all knowledge.

4. And the progress, too, of the pure religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers is through the righteous man, as is shown of him in revelation thus: 'I created, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! the righteous man who is very active¹, and I will guard his hands from evil deeds; I *will* also have him conveyed unto those who are afterwards righteous and more actively wise². 5. And *at* the same time the religion of me who created him is his desire, *and* it is the obtainment of a ruler which is to be changed by the well-organised renovation of the universe³.'

6. As through wisdom is created the world of righteousness, through wisdom is subjugated every evil, and through wisdom is perfected every good; and the best wisdom is the pure religion whose progress is that achieved by the upholders of religion, the greatness of the best men of the righteous, in whose destiny *it is*, such as that which *was* shown about Gâyômarđ, Zaratûst, and Sôshâns⁴.

¹ M14 and J here insert 'I will guard his mind from evil thoughts, *his* tongue from evil-speaking.'

² In the future existence.

³ M14 and J have '*and* it is the obtainment of a ruler who is a wise upholder of religion, from time to time, even unto the change of the last existences by the well-organised renovation of the universe.' But the additional words appear to have been suggested by the word 'ruler' being taken literally, whereas it seems to have been figuratively applied to the religion which is to rule the righteous till the future existence.

⁴ In Chap. II, 9-13.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of this destruction (*zadām*) and terror which ever happen to us from the retribution¹ of the period, and are a cause of the other evils and defects of the good religion, what kind of opinion exists? And is there a good opinion of us among the spirits, or not?

2. The reply is this, that it is said in the revelation of the *Mazda*-worshippers that the impediments (*rās-bandih*), through which *there* is vexation in righteousness, are because its doctrine is this, that, regarding the difficulty, anxiety, and discomfort which occur through good works set going, it is not desirable to account *them* as much difficulty, trouble, and discomfort. 3. Whereas it is not desirable to account *them* as anxiety and difficulty, it is then declared by it² thereof, that, as its recompense, so much comfort *and* pleasure will come to the soul, as that no one is to think of that difficulty and discomfort which came upon him through so many such good works, because he is steadfast to maintain the good religion, and utters thanksgivings (*va stāyēdō*). 4. And as regards the discomfort³, which the same good religion of ours *has* had, it comes on from the opponents of the religion.

¹ Reading *pādāsân*, but by a slight alteration M14 and J have *pādakhshahân*, 'monarchs,' which is equally suitable.

² By revelation.

³ M14 and J have 'and he remains thereby certain that his good works are in the statement (*mâdīgânō*) of good works, *and* as regards all that terror, anxiety (*vayâdō*), and discomfort,' &c.

5. Through the coming of religion we have full enjoyment (*barâ gûkârêm*), and owing to religion, unlike bondsmen (*abûrdögânvâr*), we do not become changeable among the angels; our spiritual life (*ahvôih*) of praise then arrives in readiness, and owing to the angels *there* are joyous salutation, spiritual life, and glory for the soul.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The fifth question is that you ask thus: Why does evil always happen more *to* the good than to the bad?

2. The reply is this, that not *at* every time and every place, *and* not *to* all the good, does evil happen more—for the spiritual welfare of the good is certainly more—but in the world it is very much more manifest¹. 3. And the reasons for it are many; one which is conclusive is even this, that the modes

¹ M14 and J have 'but the worldly evil and bondage are incalculably more manifest about the good, much more in the season (*zêmânih*) of *Srôsh*.' The 'season of *Srôsh*' may perhaps mean the night-time, or the three nights after death, when the protection of the angel *Srôsh* is most wanted; but *Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji*, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, prefers reading *zîmânash* (with a double pronominal suffix), and has favoured me with the following free translation of the whole passage:—'At every time and every place much evil does not happen *to* all the good; for the good, after having been separated from this world, receive (as a reward for their suffering evil) much goodness in the next world, which goodness is (regarded as) of a very high degree in religious doctrines (*srôsh*).'
Perhaps, after all, *Srôsh* is a miswriting of *saryâ*, 'bad, evil.'

and causes of *its* occurrence are more; for the occurrence of evil is more particularly appointed (vakhtõ) by two modes, one by the demons, the appointers of evil, *and* one by the vile, the doers of evil; even to the vileness of creation and the vile they cause vexation. 4. Moreover, incalculable is the evil which happens to the vile from the demons, and that to the good from the demons and also from the vile, and the mode of its occurrence is in the same way without a demon.

5. This, too, is more particularly such as the ancients *have* said, that the labour and trouble of the good are much more in the world, and their reward *and* recompense are more certain in the spiritual *existence*; and the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more in the world, and their pain *and* punishment in the spiritual *existence* are more severe. 6. And this, too, is *the case*, that the good, through fear of the pain and punishment of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease in the world, and should not think, speak, *or* do anything improper whatever. 7. And through hope for the comfort and pleasure in heaven they should accept willingly, for the neck¹, much trouble *and* fear in the practice of virtue in thought, word, *and* deed.

8. The vile, through provision with temporary enjoyment²—even that enjoyment of improprieties for which eventually there is hell—then enjoy them-

¹ The word can be read either garêvan, 'collar,' or gardûn, 'neck,' and is the usual Pâz. of the Huz. *kavarman* (Chald. 𐩦𐩣𐩪), 'the neck,' though 'neck' is often expressed by *gardûn*. The meaning is that the yoke of trouble and fear should be accepted.

² M₁₄ and J have 'through provision with the enjoyment of improprieties which is temporarily theirs.'

selves therein temporarily, and lustfully on account of selfishness; those various actions also, through which *there* would be a way to heaven, they do not trouble themselves with.

9. And in this way, in the world, the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more, and the anxiety, vexation, despondency, and distress of the good *have* become more; the reason is revealed by the stars¹.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sixth question is that which you ask thus: Why are we men produced for the world, and what is it necessary for us to do therein?

2. The reply is this, that even in the reply to an accompanying question² *it* is written that the creatures are achieved for³ justice and the performance of what is desirable for the creator; and to prepare thoroughly well that which is unlimited and the virtuous progress of the creatures, whose distress is like fear, there is the unparalleled (*abrâdarvatô*) renovation *of the universe*.

3. And that preparation arises from the complete predominance of the creator *and* the non-predominance of the fiend, as is said of it in revelation thus: 'In that time I become completely predominant, I who am *Aûharmazd*; in nothing whatever

¹ That is, it is dependent upon destiny.

² See Chap. III.

³ Reading *pavan* instead of *barâ*, two words which are often confounded by the copyists of MSS. because their Persian equivalents are nearly identical.

is the evil spirit predominant.' 4. And also about the good procedure of the creature-creation *it* is recounted thus: 'Happy *am* I when the creatures are so created by me, and according to any wish whatever of mine they give the sovereignty to me, and also come *to* the sovereignty when I have created *it* for the performance of what is desirable for the expression of what sovereignty is.'

5. And it is necessary for us to become so in the world as that the supreme sovereignty of the creator may be kept more friendly to us, its own true servants. 6. The way to that true service is known through wisdom, is believed (*vâvarî-aitö*) through truth, *and* is utilized through goodness; and the path of excellence more particularly *leads to it*. 7. And to set the good spirit rightly in the place of thought *it is* deliberately taken *and* they should deliberately leave *it*¹, as it is said in revelation that Aûharmazd spoke out to Zaratûst thus: 'Thou shouldst assist Vohûman with thy pure spiritual faculties (*ahvô*), so that they may make him fully welcome; for when thou assistest Vohûman with thy pure spiritual faculties, so that they make him fully welcome, thou shalt thus fully understand the two ways, *that* which is good conduct, and *that* also which is bad conduct.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The seventh question is that you ask thus: When a man is passing *away*, *and* after the occurrence of his passing *away*, how does the good work

¹ Compare Chap. III, 15. The 'good spirit' is Vohûman.

then go to him *and* assist him, which any others may do for him who has gone out from the world, on the third night in the dawn¹, *at* which he goes out to the balance²? *And is its* greatness such as though it be done by his own hand, or otherwise?

2. The reply is this:—When any others do a good work for him who *has* passed away, after the passing away, and if he who *has* passed away did not order that good work in *his* lifetime, and did not bequeath it, nor *was its* originator, and it was not even his by design (*dâdö*), then it does not go and does not reach him out at the balance. 3. Even at the time for being proceeded with, when that good work does not assist it is not appropriated, for that which is appropriated as the design of some one is appropriated by acceptance from some one; when it is not his by design it is then not accepted *as* his.

4. If he who *has* passed *away* did not order that good work, and did not even bequeath *it*, but was consenting to it by design, that which shall be done in *his* lifetime then reaches out in the three *nights* (*satûih*) for the aggrandizement of his position; *but* that which shall be done after *his* passing *away* is not in the account of the three *nights* and the balance, but reaches out, at the time the good work is proceeded with, for the enjoyment of the soul.

5. And if he who *has* passed *away* ordered that

¹ The soul of a dead person is supposed to hover about the corpse for three nights, and not to depart for the other world till the dawn after the third night; that is, at dawn of the fourth day, including the day of death (see Chap. XX, 2, 3, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

² Where the soul's good works are balanced against its sins, to determine its fate till the resurrection.

good work in his own *lifetime*, or bequeathed it, or was the originator and cause of the soul's employment, although it is proceeded with after *his* passing away, it then reaches out to him for the happiness of his soul, since the origin of the thanksgiving (*sipās*)¹, and the orderer and ownership of the good work are certain.

6. Any good work whatever which is proceeded with is clearly a like good work as regards those who account for *it as* with him who is the doer *of it*; also in the account of his soul the good work is as much with him who did *it*, but the soul of him by whom the good work is done by his own hand, is handsomer and stronger than of him by whom it is ordered. 7. And its similitude is such as when a man's handsome and seemly suit of clothes is his own, and he wears *it* on *his* body *and* is handsomer, more splendid, and more seemly *than* another man *who* wears a suit of clothes, *in* like manner, *which* is his own by theft.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The eighth question is that which you ask thus: Of him who, out of his *own* wealth, himself directed others thus: 'Let them act advantageously (*khang'īnakō*) for my soul,' is it so that what others may do for him out of that wealth *and that* done by his own toil are very different, one from the other, or not?

¹ The good works mentioned in this chapter would chiefly consist of prayers and ceremonies for which priests have to be remunerated, and gifts to holy men and the poor; such actions as are most highly appreciated by priests.

2. The reply is this, that *they* are very different, one from the other; for that which he orders out of his own wealth is more effectual than that which others may do for him without order. 3. And among the kinds of good work, that is more effectual which *one* practises himself and with his own toil; then that *which one* sets going out of whatever is his own by his own order, regarding which he¹ afterwards bequeaths *and* orders out of his own *property and* it comes into progress; and, lastly, that which others may do for him.

4. Since thus his own *and* that which is his by design, when any one manages for him and in his *lifetime*, aggrandize his position then, *and his* soul is preserved, when he manages for him thereafter the enjoyment then reaches unto his soul. 5. When not consenting as to the good work, and *it is* not his by design, even though others may do *it* for him it does not then come into his possession.

CHAPTER X.

1. The ninth question is that which you ask thus: How much does the growth² of his good works increase, from the *time* when the good works are done, so long as *he* is living?

2. The reply is this, that from the *time* when a good work comes into progress *its* growth remains on the increase so long as *he* is living; moreover,

¹ M₁₄ and J make this an additional kind of good work by reading 'after which is that regarding which he himself,' &c.

² Reading *vakhsh* instead of the *vêś*, 'more,' of the MSS.

when he is distressed by that good work¹, while the increase does not desist *from* increase, it grows just as a child becomes enlarged in the womb of a mother.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The tenth question is that which you ask thus: Does the growth which increases become as commendable in the fourth night² as the original good work³ in *his* possession, or does it become otherwise?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is otherwise; for the original good work stands up opposing sin, and the growing good work⁴ stands up opposed to the growth of sin.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The eleventh question is that you ask thus: Does the growth of a good work eradicate sin just like the original good work, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the growth does eradicate *it*, as happens *with* the good work which is for atonement for sin; it shall be done as retribution for sin, *and* it eradicates the sin, which is specially mentioned in revelation⁵. 3. 'Then the place of his

¹ The good work being more meritorious when more troublesome.

² After death, when all the immediate ceremonies for the dead have been completed (see Sls. XVII, 5 note).

³ Literally 'the good work of the beginning.' That *būn kirfakō* does not here stand for *būn-ī kirfakō*, 'the origin or root of the good work,' appears from Chap. XII, 1, where it is written *kirfakō-ī būn*.

⁴ Literally 'the good work of growth.'

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 136, where the matter is mentioned, but

other good work is evidently the soul; and, in order to be with the sin at *its* origin, it remains *and* is taken into account.' 4. 'Through good works and the growth of good works is the recompense of the soul, so that they should do those good works in atonement for sin.' 5. And concerning the sin eradicated it is said: 'An original good work eradicates original sin¹, and the growth of a good work *eradicates* the growth of a sin.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The twelfth question is that which you ask thus: In the fourth night do they score off (*barâ angârênd*) the sin by the good works, and does he go by the residue (*bôn*); or do they inflict punishment on him for the sin which *has* happened to him, and give reward *and* recompense for the good works which he *has* done?

2. The reply is this, that at dawn of the third night the account is prepared it is said, and about the sin which he *has* atoned for, *and* the good work which is its equivalent (*âvâr*) *there* is no need for account, since the account is about the good works which may be appropriated by him *as* his own, and about the sin which may remain *in* him *as its* origin. 3. Because the origin of it (the sin atoned for) remains distinct, and it is cancelled (*astardõ*)

the passages which seem to be quoted here must be from some other source.

¹ Literally 'sinning of the beginning' (*bûn-vinâsîh*). It must mean the first commission of any particular sin, and has no connection with the 'original sin' of Christian writers.

by it (the good work), they balance it therewith ; and they weigh the excess and deficiency, as it may be, of the *other* good works *and* sin.

4. Of those living, at the just, impartial (*akafsišnō*) balance the *man* of proper habits (*dâdō*), whose good works are more, when sin *has* happened to him, undergoes a temporary (*vidanâik*) punishment and becomes eternally cleansed by the good works ; and he of improper habits, of much sin and little good works, attains temporary enjoyment by those good works, *but* through the sin which they perceive *in* him he is suffering punishment unto the resurrection.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The thirteenth question is that which you ask thus : Who should prepare the account of the soul as to sin and good works, and in what place should they make it up ? *And* when punishment is inflicted by them, where is their place then ?

2. The reply is this, that the account about the doers of actions, as to good works *and* sin, three times every day whilst the doer of the actions is living, Vohûman the archangel should prepare ; because taking account of the thoughts, words, and deeds of all material existences is among his duties.

3. And about the sin which *affects* accusers¹, which

¹ Sins are divided into two classes, *hamêmâlân* or those which affect 'accusers,' and *rûbânîk* or those which affect only one's own soul. In the first class are included all evil actions which injure our fellow-creatures or any good animal or thing, and for which the injured party (the 'accuser') must receive satisfaction before the sinner can be pardoned (see Sl. VIII, 1).

is committed by (*val*) breakers of promises, even in the world *Mitrô*¹ is said *to be* over the bodies, words, and fortunes (*hû-bakhtakö*) of the promise-breakers; *and* as to the amount, and also as to *being* more than the stipulation when *there is* a period of time², *Mitrô* is the account-keeper. 4. In the three *nights' account* (*satûih*) *Srôsh* the righteous *and* *Rashnû* the just³ are over the estimate of the limits of the good works *and* sin of righteousness and wickedness. 5. In the future existence, on the completion of every account, the creator *Aûharmazd* himself takes account⁴, by whom both the former account of the three *nights* and all the thoughts, words, and deeds of the creatures are known through his omniscient wisdom.

6. The punishment for a soul of the sinners comes from that spirit⁵ with *whom* the sin, which *was* committed by it, is connected; fostered by the iniquity practised, that punishment comes upon the souls of the sinful and wicked, first on earth, afterwards in hell, *and* lastly at the organisation of the

¹ The angel of the sun's light; he is a personification of friendship and good faith, and is, therefore, specially aggrieved by breaches of promise and fraudulent debtors, but assists righteous souls in their passage to the other world (see AV. V, 3, Mkh. II, 118).

² Referring to debts and promises to pay.

³ The angels of obedience and justice; the duty of the former is to protect the righteous, and that of the latter is to weigh the good works and sins in his golden scales, when the soul's account is balanced after the third night after death (see AV. V, 2-5, Mkh. II, 115-122).

⁴ Referring, perhaps, to the future temporary separation of the wicked from the righteous, after the assembly of the *Sadvâstarân* (see Bd. XXX, 10-16).

⁵ The demon who is supposed to have occasioned the sin.

future existence¹. 7. When the punishment of the three *nights* is undergone² the soul of the righteous attains to heaven *and* the best existence, *and* the soul of the wicked to hell and the worst existence. 8. When they have undergone their punishment at the renovation *of the universe* they attain, by complete purification from every sin, unto the everlasting progress, happy progress, *and* perfect progress of the best *and* undisturbed existence.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fourteenth question is that which you ask thus: Is the eradication of life the gnawing of dogs and birds upon the corpse? And does the sin of those who suppose *it*³ a sin proceed from *that* origin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the decrease of sin and increase of good works, owing to good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, arise really from the effort and disquietude which come on by means of the religion the soul practises, *and* through the strength in effort, steadfastness of religion, and

¹ The three days and nights of final punishment, after the resurrection and before the final purification in melted metal (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16, 20), which is mentioned again in § 8.

² This does not refer to the final punishment of §§ 6 and 8, but to the previous three nights' tribulation just after death, and to the fate of the soul before the resurrection (see Chaps. XXIV, XXV).

³ The exposure of the dead, apparently; but the construction of this question and its relation to the reply are by no means clear at first sight. From §§ 2, 5, 6 we have to infer that the exposure is a meritorious action rather than a sin; and from §§ 3, 4 we have to gather that as loss of life occurs to every one, and exposure of the corpse only to some, the former cannot be caused by the latter.

protection of soul *which* the faithful possess. 3. That evil which *occurs* when doing good works, which is the one (hanâ) when doing iniquity, and when one strives *it* is the one when he does not strive, the one when content and the one when not content, and after *it is* undesired, and no cause of good works is with it, it occurs just as undesired, for the sake of favour and reward, is the certain eradication of life. 4. It happens once only (aêtûm) unto the righteous and the wicked, every one *who* may have received the reward—that reward is living until the time of passing *away*—but the gnawing of dogs and birds does not happen unto every one and every body. 5. It is necessary *for those* to act very differently¹ whose understanding of good works is owing to proper heed of dead matter; and, on account of the rapid change (vardî-hastanö) of that pollution, and a desire of atonement for sin, they should carry the body of *one* passed *away* out to a mountain-spur (kôf vakhsh), *or* a place of *that* description, enjoining unanimously that the dogs and birds may gnaw it, owing to the position of the appointed place². 6. Therefore, as owing to that fear³, the commands of religion, and progressive

¹ Differently from others.

² The dead must be deposited upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water, and, if possible, upon the summit of a hill (see Chap. XVII, 17, and Vend. VI, 93). From the mention of dogs gnawing the corpse it would appear that the depositories for the dead were less enclosed when this work was written than they are at present; and in ancient times both enclosed and unenclosed depositories seem to have been used (see Vend. VI, 92–106). For a description of the present form of such depositories see Sls. II, 6, note.

³ Fear of pollution from the dead.

desire *it* is accepted strenuously for the wicked himself, his own recompense is therein, and it happens to him in that way for the removal (narafsisnō) of sin *and* for the gratification of *his* soul.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The fifteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the dogs and birds tear it (the corpse) does the soul know *it*, and does it occur uncomfortably *for* it, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the pain *occasioned* by the tearing and gnawing so galls (mâlêdō) the body of men that, though the soul *were* abiding with the body, such soul, which *one* knows is happy and immortal, *would* then depart from the body, *along* with the animating life, the informing (sinâyinâkō) consciousness, *and* the remaining resources of life.

3. The body is inert, unmoving, and not to be galled; and at last no pain whatever galls *it*, nor is it perceived; and the soul, with the life, is outside of the body, and is not unsafe as regards its gnawing, but through the spiritual perception¹ it sees *and* knows *it*.

4. That which is wicked is then again desirous of its bodily existence², when it sees them thus: the wonderfully-constructed body which was its

¹ Supposing that sinâsnō stands for sinâysinō; otherwise we must read 'in the spiritual places (dīvâgânō).'

² This section is made still more complicated in the Pahlavi text by the division of this first phrase; half of it being placed at the beginning, and the other half at the extreme end of the sentence.

vesture, *and* is dispersed, and that spiritual life (hûkǒ) which was with its heart, and is even on account of this—that is: ‘Because in my bodily existence and worldly progress *there was* no atonement for sin and no accumulation of righteousness’—also in mourning about it thus: ‘In the prosperity which this body of mine had, it would have been possible for me to atone for sin *and* to save the soul, *but* now I am separated from every one and *from* the joy of the world, which is great hope of spiritual *life*; and I have attained to the perplexing account and more serious danger.’ 5. And the gnawing becomes as grievous to it, on account of that body, as a closely-shut arsenal (afzâr bêtâ-î badtûm) and a concealed innermost garment are useless among those with limbs *provided* with weapons and accoutrements, and are destroyed.

6. And of that, too, which is righteous and *filled* with the great joy that *arises* from *being* really certain of the best existence, then also the spiritual life which was with its body, on account of the great righteousness, *fit* for the exalted (firâkhtagânîk), which *was* ever accumulated by it with the body, is well developed (madam hû-tâshîdǒ), *and* the wonderfully-constructed body is destroyed in the manner of a garment, particularly when its dispersion (apâsisnǒ) occurs thereby.

7. And the consciousness of men, as it sits three nights outside of the body, in the vicinity of the body, *has* to remember and expect that *which* is truly fear and trouble (khâr) unto the demons, *and* reward, peace, and glad tidings (nôvik) unto the spirits of the good; and, on account of the dispersion and injuring of the body, it utters a cry spiritually,

thus: 'Why do the dogs and birds gnaw this organised body, when still at last the body and life unite together at the raising of the dead?' 8. And this is the reminding of the resurrection *and* liberation, and it becomes the happiness and hope of the spirit of the body *and* the other good spirits, and the fear *and* vexation of the demons and fiends.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sixteenth question is that which you ask thus: What is the purpose¹ of giving up a corpse to the birds?

2. The reply is this, that the construction of the body of those passed *away* is so wonderful that two co-existences have come together for *it*, one which is to occasion endurance (*dêr padâyinîdanö*) *and* one which is to cause conflict (*nipôrdinîdanö*), and their natures are these, for watching the angels *and* averting the demons. 3. After appertaining *to it* the life—so long as *it is* in the locality of the place of the body—and the demons of dull intellects, *who* are frightened by the body, are just like a sheep startled by wolves when they shall further frighten *it* by a wolf². 4. The spirit of the body, on account of being the spiritual life (*hûkö*) for the heart in the body, is indestructible; so is the will which resided therein, even when they shall release it from *its* abode.

5. In the same way the body of those who are

¹ Assuming that *âhan* stands for *âhang*.

² This last clause is a quotation, slightly altered, from Pahl. Vend. XIX, 108, 109.

passed *away* is so much the more innocently worthy of the rights (sânō) of *one* properly passed *away*, and *what it* is therein provided with, as it has uttered thanksgivings. 6. *For* those guardian spirits who keep watch over the body of Keresâsp¹ the Sâ mân are also such praises from the life and body, for that reason, moreover, when they unite.

7. The injury of the destroyer to the body of those passed *away* is contaminating; the Nasûs ('corruption')² rushes on it and, owing to its violence when it becomes triumphant over the life of the righteous man, and frightens it from the place of the catastrophe (hanka r d'ikih), and puts itself into the place of the body, that body is then, for that reason, called Nasâi ('dead matter'). 8. And, on account of the co-existence of rapid changing and the mode of attacking of the same Nasûs, even when it is necessary for the disintegration of the body, this is also then to lie and change sanatorily.

¹ An ancient hero, mentioned both in the Avesta and Shâhnâmah, who, owing to his disregard of religion, is said to be lying asleep on the plain of Pêsyânsai (probably the Pirîn valley near Qandahâr), watched by a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous, until he shall be hereafter aroused by the angels to kill the revived usurper Az-i Dahâk (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 8, Byt. III, 59-61). Regarding his soul a legend is related in the Pahlavi tracts which precede Dd. in some MSS., of which a translation will be found in Appendix I.

² Supposed to be a fiend who enters and pervades every corpse immediately after death, except in certain cases of violent death, when its arrival is delayed till the next period of the day (see Sls. X, 32). This exception is made in Vend. VII, 5, 6, and was probably intended, in most cases, to prevent a person who had met with a serious accident being left to perish, through fear of his death contaminating any one coming to his relief; not from any idea of the fiend being taken unawares by the suddenness of the death. This fiend is the Av. nasu (nom. nasus).

9. Hence, as the body of men is formed out of hard bone and soft fat, that *which* is established is the expulsion of the bone from the fat. 10. For the bone through its hardness, when no damp fat is with it, and it does not become a holder of its damp, is itself essentially dry; and it becomes unconsumable and attaining durability, through dryness, out of the dead matter even for perpetuity. 11. And the sun is provided to make rotten, dispersed, *and* useless the fat that is around the bone, which on the decay of the animating life is to become increasingly damp, and, after the departure of life through terror and disgust (adôstîh), it comes to rottenness and stench; and the noxious creatures in *it* alike afflict it and the hard *part* such as bone.

12. As regards the shrinking away of those who are sinners, the nearer way to a remedy is the gnawer away from men¹; the fat becomes separate from the bone, and is seized and digested, as by the separation of the fat from the dead matter for digestion, moreover, the permanent matter (asarîh) and bone attain more fully unto their own nature (sânö), *and* the body (kâlpûdö) to emptiness. 13. Because there is no *other* way to consume that fat of men, since *it* is most grievous to them (the sinners), and the pollution and contamination are made a blessing unto it (the gnawer). 14. The dispersers (astârdögarân) completely disperse from it²; they are ap-

¹ That is, in the case of those who neglect the proper exposure of corpses, there is a natural remedy in the worms produced for consuming them. Perhaps the word *khasâtâr*, 'cutter or gnawer,' stands for *khasâr*, 'noxious creature.'

² The consumers of the corpse disperse when their work is done, and carry contamination with them unless purified by the sun's heat, as described in § 15.

pointed and produced, a production not worthy, for its defilement of those purified *and* animals is contaminating, through contact again with men. 15. The crow (*galâg*) and such-like, through scorching away by the fire of the luminaries, become worthy; moreover, the affliction of that which is completely pure fire arises therefrom, as it is not able itself to come unto the scorched *one, for* then the defilement (*darvâkh*) of the scorcher by the most grievous gnawer *would* be possible.

16. But it is not proper to recount (*angâstanö*) the devouring of the noxious creatures, for the spirit of the body is troubled when it observes the alarmed (*vazid*) spirituality which *was* in the body of those destroyed, the noxious creatures upon the goodly forms, and the mode and strangeness of *their* disintegration and spoliation. 17. And so it then becomes the more remedial way¹ when, as it is ordered in revelation², the body fraught with corruption is placed on the ground of a clear mountain-spur (*kôf vakhsh*); *and*, in order not to convey *it* to the water, plants, and men of the plain, it is fastened³ in the customary manner, so that the corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, which are not subject to the hand (*dastô-âm ûkö*) of men, and are likewise not entertained as food, shall yet not drag *any* of it away for man's eating of dead matter.

18. For streams and waters go themselves⁴ *and*

¹ That is, it is better to adopt the customary mode of removing the corpse.

² See Vend. VI, 93-97.

³ This is ordered only when the corpse is not placed in any enclosure.

⁴ Or, as Vend. V, 49-62 describes it, the water is rained down by

consume that fat, and are digested by the vital fire¹ which is in the life of the creatures of *Aûharmazd*; and from fat the corpses and dead matter are reduced unto dregs of clay² and permanent matter, even with the dust they are mingled and become scattered about. 19. Likewise to those dogs, flying creatures, and birds they themselves (the waters) have given the corpse-eating quality and habit³, and on account of dull intellect they (the creatures) are not overwhelmed even by that sin.

20. From that fat which is mingled with the living body of a creature of *Aûharmazd* then *arises* also the assault⁴ of the demons, as is shown in the chapter⁵ on the reason for showing a dog to a dead *person*, so that the body of those passed *away*, when the gnawers away are mingled with the living body of a creature of *Aûharmazd*, exhibits a partial resurrection and the tokens *of it*, and thereby the demons keep in it (the living body), and give pain⁶ by the will of the sacred beings.

Aûharmazd, purified in the Pûtik sea, and conveyed through the wide-formed ocean to the well-watered tree of all seeds, whence the falling seeds are brought back, with the misty clouds, and rained upon the earth, to grow there and yield food for cattle and men.

¹ The vital heat, or Vohu-fryān fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading *gil-valigîh* (compare Pers. *kalik*, 'sediment,' or *galîz*, 'saliva').

³ Which they have imbibed by contact with dead matter.

⁴ Or 'weapon.'

⁵ No such chapter is now extant in Dd., and, therefore, this remark favours the supposition that some chapters are lost between Chaps. XCIII and XCIV. A corpse must be shown to a dog in order that the demon, *Nasûs*, may be driven out of it by the look, or touch, of the dog (see Sls. II, 1-4, X, 33).

⁶ A recognition of the fact that the drinking of impure water, or eating of tainted food, is apt to produce disease.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The seventeenth question is that you ask thus: Is it better when they give *it* to the birds, or what mode is better?

2. The reply is this, that after showing the dog—the reason of which is as declared¹ in its own chapter—they shall carry the corpse at once to the hills and rising ground (*vakhsh bûm*); and, for the reason that the dogs *and* birds should not bring that dead matter away to a watered, cultivated, *or* inhabited place, *one* is to fasten *it* *in* the manner of a thief². 3. When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat *it*, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then *men* shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (*astôdânö*), which³ *one* is to elevate so from the ground, *and* over which⁴ a roof (*âskûpö*) so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor the damp make up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein.

4. More authoritatively (*dastôbarihâ*) it is said that bone-receptacle is a vault (*kadakö*) of solid stone⁵, and its covering (*nihûmbakö*) *one* is to

¹ Literally 'as the reason of it is declared.' This is another allusion to the missing chapter mentioned in Chap. XVII, 20.

² Reading *âhûn khadûinö*, but this is very likely a corruption of *khadûinö khadûinö*, 'in various modes.'

³ The MSS. have *mûnam*, 'which by me.'

⁴ The MSS. have *min madam*, 'from above.'

⁵ Whether *khadûkö-sagakö* means 'solid rock' or 'solid ashlar' is doubtful.

construct also of a single stone which is cut perforated (sûlâk-hômand), and around it *one* is to fill in with stone and mortar¹.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The eighteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the souls of the righteous *and* the souls of the wicked go out to the spirits, will it then be possible for them to see Aûharmazd and Aharman², or not?

2. The reply is this, that concerning Aharman it is said that his is no material existence (stîs); *and* Aûharmazd, as a spirit among the spirits, is to be heard by those who are material and those also who are spiritual, *but his* form (kerpô) is not completely visible except through wisdom. 3. And a semblance of *his* power is seen, as *was* told unto Zarâtûst the Spîtamân when he saw the result (zah) of his handiwork, and he (Aûharmazd) spoke thus: 'Grasp the hand of a righteous man! for the kindly operation of my religion through³ thee thyself is as

¹ Perhaps the single stone is not to cover the whole space, but merely to contain the opening for light, and to be set in a vaulted roof of ashlar or rubble; otherwise it is not clear where the filling with stone and mortar is to be placed. This bone-receptacle was to be provided for the bones of those corpses which were deposited on the open ground. In the enclosed depositories, used in India, the bone-receptacle is a circular well in the centre, from which the rain does not appear to be excluded (see Sl. II, 6, note).

² The evil spirit (see Chap. II, 11), whose nature and powers differ very little from those ascribed to the devil by most Christian writers.

³ Or 'on;,' or, perhaps, it 'is as much as he shall grasp at thee thyself.'

much as he shall grasp, and thou mayst see him whose reception (*mâhmânih*) of my wisdom and glory is the most.'

4. And about the souls of the righteous and wicked, in the spiritual places they see the throne (*gâs*), which they deem a sight of *Aûharmazd*. 5. And so also those who are domiciled with (*hamnemân*) Aharman, through that wisdom with reference to whose creator they shall suffer, will understand minutely as regards *Aûharmazd* and the nature of Aharman (*Aharmanih*). 6. And he who is of the righteous is delighted at escaping from Aharman *and* coming to the existence pertaining to *Aûharmazd*; and they shall offer homage to the glory¹ of *Aûharmazd*. 7. And he who is wicked, through being deceived by Aharman, and turning from the direction (*pelag*) of *Aûharmazd*, becomes more vexed *and* more penitent; the hope (*zahisnö*) and forgiveness which he possesses, and the retribution *and* manacling which are his among the fiends *and* spirits through his own handiwork, are *by* the permission which comes from the most persistent of the persistent² at the period of the resurrection.

¹ The word 'glory' is always to be understood in its material sense of 'radiance, effulgence.'

² That is, from *Aûharmazd*. The epithet *khvâpar*, here translated 'persistent,' appears to mean 'self-sustaining' in the Avesta (see Sls. XXII, 21); traditionally it is supposed to mean 'protecting, cherishing,' but this is merely a guess, though it seems related to Pers. *khapârah*, 'active,' and may, therefore, often mean 'persevering.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. The nineteenth question is that you ask thus :
To what place do the righteous and wicked¹ go ?

2. The reply is this, that it is thus said that the souls of those passed *away and* of the dead² are three nights on earth ; and the first night satisfaction comes to them from *their* good thoughts *and* vexation from *their* evil thoughts, the second night *come* pleasure from *their* good words *and* discomfort and punishment³ from *their* evil words, *and* the third night *come* exaltation from *their* good deeds *and* punishment from *their* evil deeds⁴. 3. And that third night, in the dawn, they go to the place of account *on* Albûrz⁵; the account *being* rendered they proceed to the bridge⁶, and he who is righteous

¹ As K35 inserts the relative *ī* here, some such phrase as 'who are dead' has probably dropped out of the Pahlavi text.

² The Parsi books speak of the righteous dead as 'departed,' a term very rarely applied to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 4), who are nearly always said 'to die;' the latter verb is, however, occasionally used when speaking of the righteous. This distinction is made even in the Huzvâris logograms, which express the death of the righteous by forms allied to Chald. ܘܥܘܪܐ 'he passed over,' and the death of the wicked by forms allied to Chald. ܘܡܘܬܐ 'he died.'

³ So in all MSS., but the 'punishment' seems superfluous here.

⁴ The Avesta merely states that the soul remains three nights near the body, chanting a particular hymn, and experiencing as much pleasure or uneasiness as it had in the world (see Hn. II, 3-17, III, 3-16); and much the same account is given in AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9, Mkh. II, 114, 158-160.

⁵ The mountain chain which is supposed to surround the world (see Bd. XII, 3); the Av. Hara-berezaiti.

⁶ The *Xinvad* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 2-7), which is said to

passes over the bridge on the ascent (lâlâih), and if belonging to the ever-stationary (hamîstânîkō)¹ he goes thither where their place is, if *along* with an excess of good works *his* habits are correct (frârûn-dâd) *he goes* even unto heaven (vahistō), and if *along* with an excess of good works *and* correct habits *he has* chanted the sacred hymns (gâsânō) *he goes* even unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânō). 4. He who is of the wicked falls from the lower end (tîh) of the bridge, or from the middle of the bridge; he falls head-foremost to hell, *and* is precipitated (nikûnî-aitō) unto that grade² which is *suitable* for his wickedness.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twentieth question is that which you ask thus: How are the *Kînvad* bridge, the *Dâitih* peak (*kakâd*), and the path of the righteous and wicked;

rest upon the *Dâitih* ('judicial') peak, and to pass over to *Albûrz* (see Bd. XII, 7). According to the *Avesta* (Vend. XIX, 100, 101, trans. D.) his conscience, in the form of a maiden, 'makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the *Hara-berezaiti* (*Albûrz*); above the *Kînvad* bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods (angels) themselves.' See also AV. V, 1, 2, Mkh. II, 115.

¹ The intermediate place for those not good enough for heaven and not bad enough for hell, where such souls remain in a passive, immovable state till the resurrection (see Sls. VI, 2). It is divided into two parts, according to the author, one for those nearly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for those nearly wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

² Four grades of heaven and four of hell are mentioned in AV. and Mkh. (see Sls. VI, 3, note).

how *are they* when *one* is righteous, and how when *one* is wicked?

2. The reply is this, that thus the high-priests *have* said, that the Dâitih peak¹ is in Airân-vêg², in the middle of the world; reaching unto the vicinity of that peak is that beam-shaped (dâr-kerpô) spirit, the Kinvad bridge³, which is thrown *across* from the Albûrz enclosure (var) back to the Dâitih peak.

3. As *it were* that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges (pôstô) there are *some* which are broad, and there are *some* which are thin *and* sharp; its broad sides (sûkihâ) are so large that its width is twenty-seven reeds (nâi), and its sharp sides are so contracted (tang) that in thinness *it* is just like the edge of a razor. 4. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive it turns to that side which is *suitable* to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him who *takes* the just account⁴.

5. Moreover, the bridge becomes a broad bridge for the righteous, as much as the height of nine spears (nizakô)—and the length of those which they carry is each separately three reeds⁵—; and

¹ The *Kakâd-î Dâitik* of Bd. XII, 7.

² The primeval home of Mazda-worship (see Vend. I, 5, 6), which the Bundahis places 'in the direction of Âdarbigân;' it is also stated to contain the Dâitik or Dâitih river (which must not be confounded with the Dâitih peak) and the Dâraga river (on whose bank Zaratûst's father is said to have dwelt), and to have been the scene of Zaratûst's first promulgation of the religion (Bd. XX, 13, 32, XXIX, 12, XXXII, 3). Its winter is likewise described as both long and cold (Vend. I, 8-12, Bd. XXV, 11, 16), which is the case in Âdarbigân.

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ The angel Rashnû.

⁵ The nine spears of three reeds each, in length, making up the

it becomes a narrow bridge *for* the wicked, even unto a resemblance to the edge of a razor. 6. And he who is of the righteous passes over the bridge, and a worldly similitude of the pleasantness of his path upon it is when thou shalt eagerly and unweariedly walk in the golden-coloured spring, and *with* the gallant (hû-kîr¹) body and sweet-scented blossom in the pleasant skin of that maiden² spirit, the price of goodness. 7. He who is of the wicked, as he places a footstep *on* to the bridge, on account of affliction (siparîh) and *its* sharpness, falls from the middle of the bridge, and rolls *over* head-foremost. 8. And the unpleasantness of his path to hell is in similitude such as the worldly *one* in the midst of that stinking *and* dying existence (hastân), there where numbers of the sharp-pointed darts (têzö mûk dûgö) are planted³ out inverted and point upwards, and they come unwillingly running; they shall not allow *them* to stay behind, *or* to make delay. 9. So much greater *than* the worldly similitude is that pleasantness and unpleasantness unto the souls, as such as is fit for the spirit is greater than *that* fit for the world.

twenty-seven reeds mentioned in § 3. As the reed appears to have been about 4 feet 8 inches (see Chap. XLIII, 5, note), the width of the bridge is supposed to be about 126 feet, and the length of a spear is taken as 14 feet.

¹ So in the MSS., but hû-kîhar, 'handsome,' is more probable.

² Reading kanîkô, instead of the kanâkô of the MSS., as there can be no allusion to the evil spirit here. The reference is to a good conscience, which is symbolised by the handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the righteous soul on its way to heaven (see Chap. XXIV, 5).

³ Assuming that âgzast is equivalent to Pers. âgast. The allusion seems to be to a form of torturing punishment (running upon ground studded with sharp points) well known to the author.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, who has performed much worship of the sacred beings, and many duties and good works, do the spirit of creation, the spirit of the *sacred* ceremony (*yazisnō*) and religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the water, earth, plants, and animals, make complaint unto Aûhar^m*mazd*, owing to the passing away of him who is righteous, and is it distressing to them when he goes out from the world, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that *as to* him who is of the righteous, in *his* transit of worldly pain in passing away, and also after passing away to the passage onwards¹ which is his limit (*stâr*) still in the perplexing account, and, after the account, in his own joy, and in what *occurs* when his gossips (*hamvâkân*) in the world—by whom the spiritual beings are also not unrecognised, *nor* his position unknown—are in worldly demeanour downcast and grieving, *on all these occasions*² *his* thoughts, procuring forgiveness, are about the sacred beings. 3. And the spirit of creation, *and* the good spirit of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which are in the worldly *existence*—of which³ also, in the world, that righteous *one* is a praiser, an employer, a manager, a protection, and a forbearing friend—shall make an outcry to

¹ The *Kinvad* bridge, near which the soul's account is rendered.

² The sentence is clear enough in Pahlavi, but too involved to be readily understood in English without these extra words.

³ The worldly existences which those spirits represent.

the creator about him who is righteous, who is *away* from worldly protection, *also* for the granting of a promoter of forbearance, and *for* a restorer (*âvôrdâr*) of *what* is extorted¹; *likewise* a petition about the compensatory concomitants as to his new protection and disposer.

4. And the almighty creator responds, *and* allots a teacher² for smiting the fiend, for the satisfaction of the righteous, *and* for the protection of the good creatures. 5. As it is said, that in every age a high-priest of the religion and *his* managing of the creatures are made manifest, in whom, in that age, the protection of the creatures and the will of the sacred beings are progressing.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-second question is that which you ask thus: When they shall snatch forth the life from the body of man how does it depart?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is said *to be* in resemblance such as when the redness is drawn up out of a fire; for when the inflammable *material* of a fire is burnt, *and has* remained without glowing³,

¹ These latter clauses of the outcry refer to their own wants, and the necessity of providing some one to take the place of the deceased; but the final petition seems to be for the deceased himself.

² The word may be either *farhakhtâkô*, 'preparing, educating,' or *firistâkô*, 'sending, deputing,' and must be used as a substantive.

³ Reading *abarîs* (compare Pers. *barz*, 'splendour'), or it may be *abarâkh*, 'sparkless,' if *barkh*, 'a spark,' be a pure Persian word, which is doubtful.

and when it does not obtain new inflammable *material*, or extinguishing *matter* (nizâyisnik) comes upon *it*, its redness *and* heat then depart from it¹; the life, too, on the departure of the breath (vâdõ vasakih), does not stay in the body, *but in* like manner departs.

3. *To* a like purport the high-priests of the religion *have* also said this, that mortals *and* men by listening² perceive the time when the spirits shall put a noose (band) on the neck³; when his time *has* fully come *one* then conducts him with a companion (pavan ham-bar)⁴, and at his falling are the place of death⁵ and cause of death; and *having* made lethargy (bûshâsp) deliver him up, and terrified his fever (tapõ), death (aõsh) seizes decrepitude (zarmân) *away* from him⁶.

4. The strength in those intrusted *with him*, and the good proceedings *and* pursuit of means which remain behind⁷, giving them strength, are the deter-

¹ M14 and J omit the remainder of the sentence.

² Reading *sinvisnõ*, but by omitting a stroke we should have *dânisnõ*, 'knowledge.'

³ Of a person at the point of death. The demon of death, *Astõvidâd*, is supposed to cast a noose around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, which only the righteous can throw off (see Bd. III, 21, 22).

⁴ That is, the dying man must be conveyed by more than one person, for fear of such contamination by the demon of corruption (at the time of death) as would require the tedious *Bareshnûm* ceremonial of purification (see Sls. II, 1, 6-8).

⁵ And, therefore, the place where his body will rise again at the resurrection (see Sls. XVII, 11-14).

⁶ Lethargy, fever, and decrepitude are considered as fiends, but are dispossessed by the mightier demon of death. M14 and J mention 'lethargy,' but omit the after part of the sentence.

⁷ Alluding probably to the ceremonies to be ordered and performed by the survivors (see Chap. XXVIII, 6, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

mination (*vikîr*) which is their own inward physician. 5. And should it be a passing *away* (*vidarg*) which obtains no light, and on account of their disquietudes *they have gone* to the understanders of remedies for strength for the remedial duties, and the way is closed, he proceeds with insufficiency of means¹. 6. And the soul of the body, which is the master of *its* house (*kadâk khûdâi*), *along* with the animating life, *goes* out of the impotent body to the immortal souls², as a wise master of a house *goes* out of a foreign (*anîrânö*) house to a residence of the good worship.

7. *It was* also told to the ancient learned that life (*khayâ*) is where there is a living spirit within the soul's body, which is connected with the soul³, as much as a development (*sarîttântanö*) of the body, and is the life (*zivandakîh*) of the soul of a body of *one* passed *away*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-third question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it do?

2. The reply is this, that thus it is said, that the

¹ That is, when there are doubts about the fate of the soul, and the survivors can obtain no satisfactory assurances from the priesthood, the soul has to proceed to the other world without suitable provision for its happiness.

² The MSS. have 'soul.'

³ M₁₄ and J have 'which is the soul,' and omit the remainder of the sentence.

soul of man, itself the spirit of the body¹, after passing away, is three nights upon earth, doubtful about its own position (gâs)², and in fear of the account; and it experiences terror, distress (dah-yakö), and fear through anxiety about the *Kinvad* bridge³; and as it sits it notices about its own good works *and* sin. 3. And the soul, which in a manner *belongs* to *that* same spirit of the body which is alike experiencing and alike touching it, becomes acquainted by sight with the sin which it *has* committed, and the good works which it *has* scantily done.

4. And the first night from its own good thoughts, the second night from *its* good words, and the third night from *its* good deeds it obtains pleasure for the soul; and if also, with the righteousness, there be sin which remains *in it* as its origin, the first punishment in retribution for the evil deed occurs *that* same third night. 5. The same third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn⁴, the treasurer of good works, like a handsome maiden (ka nikö)⁵, comes out to meet *it* with the store of its own good works; and, collected by witches (parikö-kînd), the sin and crime unatoned for (atökhtö) come on to the account *and* are justly accounted for⁶.

¹ The 'spirit of the body' which is to some extent distinguished from the 'soul,' both in this chapter and the next, is probably the life, as described in Chap. XXIII, 7.

² That is, its future position, or 'destination.'

³ See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

⁴ Reading *dên bâm-î nuk ayâftö*.

⁵ Fully described in Hn. II, 22-32, AV. IV, 18-35, Mkh. II, 125-139.

⁶ The author is more practical than most other writers on the same subject, as he assumes that the righteous soul is not absolutely righteous, nor the wicked soul absolutely wicked.

6. For the remaining (*ketrûnd*) sin it undergoes punishment *at* the bridge, and the evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are atoned for; and with the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds of its own commendable and pleasing spirit it steps forward unto the supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*)¹, or to heaven (*vahistô*), or to the ever-stationary (*hamîstânagânô*) of the righteous², there where there is a place for it in righteousness.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked shall die, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it say and do?

2. The reply is this, that those three nights the soul is upon earth, *and* notices about the thoughts, words, and deeds of its own body; *it* is doubtful about its own position, and experiences grievous fear of the account, great terror of the bridge, and perplexing fear on account of hell. 3. Thought is oppressive as an indicator of fear, and the soul, in a manner the spirit of the body, is a computer³ and acquirer of acquaintance by sight about the good works which it *has* not done, and the sin which it *has* committed.

4. And the first night *it* is hastening *away* from

¹ See Chap. XX, 3.

² There is another place for the ever-stationary of the wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

³ Assuming that *angrâidâr* stands for *angâridâr*.

its own evil thoughts, the second night from its own evil words, and the third night from its own evil deeds; but, owing to the good works which it has done in the world, the first night the spirit of *its* good thoughts, the second night the spirit of *its* good words, and the third night the spirit of *its* good deeds, come unto the soul, and become pleasing and commendable to it.

5. And the third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn, its sin, in the frightful, polluted shape of a maiden (*kârâtîk*) who is an injurer, comes to meet *it* with the store of its sin; and a stinking northerly¹ wind comes out to meet *it*, and it comes on shudderingly, quiveringly², and unwillingly running to the account. 6. And through being deceived and deceiving, heresy (*avârûn-dînôih*), unrelenting and false³ accusation of constant companions, and the wide-spread sinfulness of a fiend-like existence (*drûg-stihîh*) it is ruined, falls from the bridge, and is precipitated to hell.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of heaven (*vahistô*), and the comfort and pleasure which are in heaven?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* lofty, exalted, and

¹ The demons are supposed to come from the north, where the gates of hell are situated (see Sls. X, 7).

² Reading *astô-sîstihâ nafô-gumdânihâ*, which may be, literally, 'with bones started and with shaking navel;' but the reading is doubtful.

³ Literally 'not allowing to hear and false-speaking.'

supreme, most brilliant, most fragrant, and most pure, most *supplied with* beautiful existences, most desirable, and most good, and the place *and* abode of the sacred beings (*yazdânö*). 3. And in it are all comfort, pleasure, joy, happiness (*vasîdâgih*), and welfare, more *and* better even than the greatest *and* supremest welfare *and* pleasure in the world; and there is no want, pain, distress, *or* discomfort whatever *in* it; and its pleasantness and the welfare of the angels are from that constantly-beneficial place (*gâs*), the full *and* undiminishable space (*gûng*)¹, the good and boundless world.

4. And the freedom of the heavenly from danger from evil in heaven is like unto *their* freedom from disturbance, and the coming of the good angels is like unto *the heavenly ones'* own good works provided. 5. This prosperity (*freh-hastö*) and welfare of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than that of the world, as much as that which is unlimited *and* everlasting is *more* than that which is limited and demoniacal (*sêdânîkö*).

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-sixth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of hell, *and* the pain, discomfort², punishment, and stench of hell?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* sunken, deep, and descending, most dark, most stinking, and most terrible, most *supplied with* wretched existences (*anâzîdântûm*), and most bad, the place and cave

¹ See Chap. XXXI, 24.

² Or 'ingloriousness.'

(grêstakö) of the demons and fiends. 3. And in it is no comfort, pleasantness, *or* joy whatever; *but* in it are all stench, filth, pain, punishment, distress, profound evil, and discomfort; and *there* is no resemblance of it whatever *to* worldly stench, filthiness, pain, and evil. 4. And since *there* is no resemblance of the mixed evil of the world to that which is its sole-indicating (aê-numâi) good, *there* is also a deviation (gumîsnö) of it from the origin and abode of evil¹.

5. And so much more grievous is the evil in hell than even the most grievous evil on earth, as the greatness of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than *that* of the world; and more grievous is the terror of the punishment on the soul than that of the vileness of the demons on the body. 6. And the punishment on the soul is from those whose abode *it* has become², from the demons and darkness—a likeness of that evil to hell—the head (kamârakö) of whom is Aharman the deadly.

7. And the words of the expressive utterance of the high-priests are these, that where *there* is a fear of every other thing *it* is more than the thing itself, *but* hell is a thing worse than the fear of it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: Why and what is *the ceremony of*

¹ Meaning, probably, that the mixture of good and evil in the world is as far removed from heaven as it is from hell. But the words aê-numâi and gumîsnö are doubtful both in reading and meaning.

² That is, hell has become; reading mân gastö.

the three *nights* (satûih), when during three days they order and perform the sacred-cake ceremony (yazisnō drônô) of Srôsh¹?

2. The reply is this, that the life and soul, when from the realm of the spirit of air² they attain unto worldly attire, and have passed into its pain and misfortune, are more sensitive (nâzûktar); owing to their nurture, birth, *and* mission, protection and defence are more desirable and more suitable for the discreet (hû-kîragânîktar); and milk food, and renewed (navagûnak) and constant attention to the fire are requisite³. 3. So also when they are ousted from bodily existence, and pain and the eradication of life have come upon them, *they* are *in* like manner more sensitive, and sending them protection and defence from spirits *and* worldly existences is more desirable. 4. And on account of their spiritual character the offering (firistisnō) of gifts *for* the angels, fit for the ritual of a spirit (maînôk nîrangîk), is more presentable; and also a fire newly tended (nôgônd) is that which is more the custom in the *sacred* ceremony (yazisnō).

5. *For* the same reason *in* the three days when in connection with the soul the *sacred* ceremony, the burning of fire, *its* cleanly clearance (gôndisnō),

¹ See Chap. XIV, 4.

² Reading min maînôk vâyih, and assuming that 'the good Vâê' (the Vayô of the Râm Yt.), who is often called the angel Râm, is alluded to (see Chap. XXX, 4, Sls. XI, 4, XVII, 4). The life and soul are treated as one being in this chapter, as all the verbs and pronouns referring to them are in the singular number in the Pahlavi text.

³ Referring to the proper care of new-born infants, for whose protection from the demons a bright fire is to be kept constantly burning for three days (see Sls. XII, 11, 12).

and other religious *and* ritualistic defence, feeding on milk *and* eating with a spoon¹ are ordered, because—as the *sacred* ceremony, the defence and protection of the worldly existences, is, by order of the creator, the business of Srôsh the righteous², and *he* is also one of *those* taking the account in the three *nights*³—Srôsh the righteous gives the soul, *for* three days and nights, the place of the spirit of air in the world, and protection. 6. And because of the protectiveness of Srôsh, and *that one* is assisted likewise by Srôsh's taking the account, and for that purpose, are the manifest reasons for performing *and* ordering the ceremony of Srôsh *for* three days and nights⁴.

7. And the fourth day the ordering and performing the ceremony of the righteous guardian spirit (*ardâi fravardō*)⁵ are *for* the same soul and the remaining righteous guardian spirits of those who are *and* were *and will* be, from Gâyômarđ the propitious to Sôshâns the triumphant⁶.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The twenty-eighth question is that you ask thus: For what reason is it not allowable to perform

¹ No meat is to be eaten by the survivors until the third night has passed away (see Sls. XVII, 2).

² The angel Srôsh is said to have been the first creature who performed the sacred ceremony (see Yas. LVI, i, 2-7, ii, 2-4, iii, 2-4), of which the spiritual counterpart was produced by Aûhar-mazđ during the creation (see Bd. II, 9).

³ See Chap. XIV, 4.

⁴ See Sls. XVII, 3.

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 5.

⁶ That is, from the first man to the last; the phrase is quoted from Yas. XXVI, 33.

the ceremony of Srôsh, the living spirit (ahvô)¹, *along* with other propitiations (shnûmanô)², when they reverence him separately?

2. The reply is this, that the lord of all *things* is the creator who is persistent over his own creatures, and a precious work is his own true service³ which is given by him to Srôsh the righteous whom, for this reason, *one* is to reverence separately when even his name is not frequently mentioned, and *one* is not even to reverence the names of the archangels with him.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The twenty-ninth question is that which you ask thus: The third night, in the light of dawn, what is the reason for consecrating separately the three sacred cakes⁴ with three dedications (shnûman)?

2. The reply is this, that one sacred cake, whose dedication is to Rashnû *and* Âstâd⁵, is for⁶ satisfying

¹ Probably a miswriting of ashôk, 'righteous.'

² Short formulas of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirits intended to be propitiated by them, which are introduced into a particular part of the liturgy to dedicate the ceremony to the particular spirit in whose honour it is being performed (see Sls. VII, 8).

³ Reading bôndakîh; but it may be bûndakîh, 'completeness, perfection.'

⁴ The drôn, or sacred cake, is a small flexible pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of the shnûman, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32).

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 4. These two angels are supposed to be present when the soul renders its account; Rashnû weighs its actions in his golden balance, and Âstâd assists it (see AV. V, 3, 5).

⁶ Reading râi, instead of lâ, 'not.'

the light of dawn and the period of Aûshahîn¹, because the mountain Aûshdâstâr² is mentioned in the propitiation of the angel Âstâd. 3. With Âstâd is the propitiation of the period of Aûshahîn³, and *she* is the ruler of glory⁴ of that time when the account occurs; the souls are in the light of the dawn of Aûshahîn when they go to the account; their passage (*vidâd*) is through the bright dawn.

4. One sacred cake, which is in propitiation of the good Vâê⁵, is, moreover, on this account: whereas the bad Vâê⁶ is a despoiler and destroyer, even so the good Vâê is a resister (*kûkhshîdâr*), and likewise encountering the bad Vâê; *he* is also a diminisher (*vizûdâr*) of his abstraction of life,

¹ One of the five periods of the day and night, extending from midnight until the stars disappear in the dawn, or, as some say, until all the fixed stars disappear except four of the first magnitude (see Bd. XXV, 9, Sls. XIV, 4-6).

² Called Ushi-darena in the Avesta, and identified with some mountain in Sagastân in Bd. XII, 15. It is mentioned in the dedicatory formula of Âstâd (see Sir. 26), and its name is evidently here supposed to mean 'the holder of dawn,' an appropriate term for a lofty mountain to the eastward.

³ Both Rashnû and Âstâd are blessed in the prayers appointed for the Aûshahîn period of the day.

⁴ The 'glory of the Aryans' is lauded in the Âstâd Yast.

⁵ The spirit of air, or angel Râm, who receives and protects the good soul on its way to the other world (see Chap. XXVIII, 2, 5).

⁶ Identified with Astô-vidâd, the demon of death, in Bd. XXVIII, 35, but Pahl. Vend. V, 25, 31 makes him a separate demon, who conveys away the bound soul, which would identify him with the demon Vîzarêsh of Vend. XIX, 94, Bd. XXVIII, 18. There is very little doubt, however, that the Pahlavi translator of Vend. V misunderstood the Avesta, which merely says that 'Astô-vidhôtû binds him, Vayô conveys him bound,' referring probably to the good Vâê who receives the parting soul; and Pahl. Vend. V, 31 admits that this was the opinion of some.

and a receiver and protection of life, on account of the sacred cake¹.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirtieth question is that which you ask thus: When a soul of the righteous goes on to heaven, in what manner does it go; also, who receives it, who leads² *it*, and who makes it a household attendant³ of *Aûharmazd*? Also, does any one of the righteous in heaven come out to meet it, and shall any thereof make enquiry of it, or how?
2. Shall they also make up an account as to its sin *and* good works, and how is the comfort and pleasantness in heaven shown to it; also, what is its food?
3. *Is it* also their assistance which

¹ Nothing is here said about the third sacred cake, but Sls. XVII, 4 states that this is to be dedicated to the righteous guardian spirit (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

² It is doubtful whether the verb be *yezrûn* (a corruption of *yezderûn*) or *dezrûn* (a corruption of *dedrûn*), but both forms are traceable to the same Semitic root (רבר), one with and the other without the prefix 'ye,' and both, therefore, have nearly the same meaning.

³ Reading *khavag-î-mân*, 'servant of the house' (see also §§ 5, 8, Chaps. XXXII, 7, XXXVII, 16, 17, 21, XLIII, 1, XLVIII, 41). This word occurs in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 102, in a compound which is doubtfully read *avîdamânkarânö*, 'those acting without time, eternal ones,' in Haug's Essays, p. 388 (it should be 'those acting as household attendants'). It also occurs in the Pâzand tract called *Aogemadaêkâ*, from its initial word (see Geiger's ed. p. 23, § 11), where it is read *añdimânî*, and translated by Sans. *pratîhâra*, 'doorkeeper;' but in a Pahlavi version of this tract (which seems to form part of the *Âfrîn-i Dahmân*, and differs considerably from the Pâzand text) this word is replaced by *bôndak mânîk-1*, 'a household servant,' which confirms the reading adopted here.

reaches unto the world, or not? And is the limit (sâmânö) of heaven manifest, or what way *is it*?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the righteous steps forth unto heaven through the strength of the spirit of good works, *along* with the good spirit¹ which is the escort (parvânakö) of the soul, into *its* allotted station and the uppermost (tâyîkö) which is *for* its own good works; *along* with the spiritual good works, without *those* for the world, and a crown and coronet², a turban-sash and a fourfold fillet-pendant³, a decorated robe (gâmakö) and suitable equipments, spiritually flying unto heaven (vahistô), or to the supreme heaven (garôdmân), there where its place is. 5. And Vohûman⁴, the archangel, makes it a household attendant (khavag-î-mânî-nêdö) to Aûharmazd the creator, *and* by order of Aûharmazd announces *its* position (gâs) and reward; *and* it becomes glad to beg for the position of household attendant of Aûharmazd, through what it sees and knows.

6. Aûharmazd the creator of good producers

¹ Probably the good Vâê, the spirit of air (see Chaps. XXVIII, 2, 5, XXIX, 4).

² Reading rukhö vardîvanö, which words also occur in AV. XII, 16, XIV, 9. A most elaborate account of heaven and hell will be found in the Book of Ardâ Virâf with an English Translation, ed. Hóshangji and Haug, 1872.

³ Reading vâs va kahârakö bâlak.

⁴ Vend. XIX, 102-107 (trans. D.) states as follows: 'Up rises Vohu-manô from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?" Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Ameshaspentas, to the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Ameshaspentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.'

(dahâkân) is a spirit even among spirits, and spirits even *have* looked for a sight of him; which spirits are manifestly above worldly existences¹. 7. But when, through the majesty² of the creator, spirits put on worldly appearances (vênisnôihâ), or are attending (sinâyânîkô) to the world and spirit, and put away appearance (vênisnô apadôgênd), then he whose patron spirit (ahvô)³ is in the world is able to see the attending spirits, in such similitude as when they see bodies in which is a soul⁴, or when they see a fire in which is Varahrân⁵, or see water in which is its own spirit⁶. 8. Moreover, in that household attendance, *that Aûhar Mazda has seen the soul is certain, for Aûhar Mazda sees all things; and many even of the fiend's souls⁷, who are put away from those of Aûhar Mazda in spiritual understanding, are delighted by the appearance (numûdanô) of those of Aûhar Mazda.*

9. And the righteous in heaven, who have been

¹ Implying that Aûhar Mazda can hardly be considered visible, except by the eye of faith (see Chap. XIX, 2).

² Assuming that rabâ-vânagîh is equivalent to Pers. buzurgânagî, 'magnificence.'

³ The ahvô (Av. ahû) seems to be a spiritual protector, somewhat similar to a patron saint; as, according to the Ahunavar, the most sacred formula of the Parsis (see Bd. I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19), both an ahû and a ratu are to be chosen, that is, both a patron spirit and a high-priest.

⁴ That is, he sees the spirits by means of their material manifestations.

⁵ The old Pahl. form of Vâhrâm, the angel whose name is applied to the sacred fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2, 9); he is the Av. Verethraghna of the Bahrâm Yt.

⁶ The female angel of water is the Av. ardvî sûra Anâhita of the Âbân Yt.

⁷ The souls in hell.

his intimate friends, of the same religion and like goodness, speak to him *of* the display of affection, the courteous enquiry, and the suitable eminence from coming to heaven, and his everlasting well-being in heaven.

10. And the account as to sin and good works does not occur unto the heavenly *ones*; *it is* itself among the perplexing questions of this treatise, for the taking of the account and the atonement for the sins of a soul of those passed *away and* appointed unto heaven happen so¹, although its place (*gās*) is there² until the renovation *of the universe*, and *it has* no need for a new account. 11. And that account is at the time the account occurs; *those* taking the account are Aûharmazd, Vohûman, Mitrô, Srôsh, and Rashnû, and they shall make up the account of all with justice, each one at his own time, as the reply is written in its own chapter³.

12. *As to* that which you ask concerning food, the meals of the world are *taken* in two ways; one is the distribution of water in haste, and one is with enjoyment (*aûrvâzisiñö*) to the end; *but* in heaven there is no haste as to water, and rejoicing with much delight *they* are like unto those who, as worldly beings, make an end of a meal of luxury (*aûrvâzisiñikih*). 13. To that also *which* is the spiritual completion of the soul's pleasure *it* is attaining in like proportion⁴, and in its appearance to worldly beings *it* is a butter of the name of Maîdyôk-zarem⁵. 14. And the reason of

¹ As in Chap. XXIV, 5, 6.

² In heaven.

³ See Chap. XIV, 2-5.

⁴ This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original.

⁵ Said to be the food of the souls in heaven (see Hn. II, 38,

that name of it is this, that of the material food in the world that which is the product of cattle is said *to be* the best (pâshûm), among the products of cattle *in use* as food is the butter of milk, and among butters that is extolled as to goodness which they shall make *in* the second month of the year¹, and when Mitrô² is in the constellation Taurus; as that month is scripturally (dînôikö) called Zaremâyâ³, the explanation of the name to be accounted *for* is this, that its worldly representative (andâzakö) is the best food in the world.

15. And *there* is no giving out of assistance *by* the soul of the righteous from heaven and the supreme heaven⁴; for, *as to* that existence full

Mkh. II, 152); it is to be distinguished from the draught of immortality, called Hûsh, which is prepared from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôm at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

¹ If the writer refers to the correct solar year of Bd. XXV, 21, beginning at the vernal equinox, the second month would be 19th April-19th May when the sun is in the conventional sign of Taurus; but the ordinary Parsi year in his time commenced in the middle of April, and its second month would be May-June when the sun (about A.D. 880) would be in the actual constellation of Taurus. So that the statements in the text afford no certain indication of the particular calendar used by the author.

² The angel of the sun's light, here used for the sun itself.

³ The fifteenth day of the second month of the Parsi year is the season festival called Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' in the Avesta; being also the middle of the second month, the author assumes that the name of that month was originally Zaremaya. The Pahl. word can also be read Zar-mâh, 'the month of gold, or the green month.'

⁴ That is, there is no intercession of saints for those still in the world. The only interceders are the angels and guardian spirits, and they go no further than to obtain strict justice for every one according to his worldly merits.

of joy, *there* is then no deserving of it for *any* one unless each one is fully worthy of it. 16. But the soul has a remembrance of the world and worldly people, *its* relations *and* gossips; and he who is unremembered and unexpected (*abarmarvad*) is undisturbed, and enjoys in his own time all the pleasure of the world as it occurs in the renovation *of the universe*, and wishes to attain to it. 17. And, in like manner, of the comfort, pleasure, and joy of the soul, which, *being* attained in proportion, they cause to produce in heaven and the supreme heaven, its own good works of every kind are a comfort and pleasure such as *there* are in the world from a man who is a wise friend—he who is a reverent worshipper—and other educated men, to her who is a beautiful, modest, *and* husband-loving woman—she who is a manager (*ârâstâr*) under protection—and other women who are clever producers of advantage¹. 18. This², too, *which arises* from beasts of burden, cattle, wild beasts, birds, fish, and other species of animals; this, too, from luminaries, fires, streams (*hû-tagisnân*), winds, decorations, metals, and coloured earths; this, too, which is from the fences (*pardakânö*) of grounds, houses, *and* the primitive lands of the well-yielding *cattle*; this³, too, which is from rivers, fountains, wells, *and* the primary species of water; this, too, which is from trees and shrubs, fruits, grain, and fodder, salads, aromatic herbs, *and* other plants; this, too, which is

¹ Reading *sûd âz kârânö*, and identifying the second word with Pers. *âz*.

² That is, the pleasure.

³ This clause is omitted in M14 and J.

the preparation of the land for these¹ creatures *and* primitive creations; this, too, from the species of pleasant tastes, smells, and colours of all natures, the producers of protections², the patron spirits (ahûân), and the appliances of the patron spirits, can come unto mortals.

19. And what the spirit of good works is in similitude is expressly a likeness of stars and males, females and cattle, fires and sacred fires, metals of every kind, dogs, lands, waters, *and* plants³.

20. The spiritual good works are attached (*ava-yûkhtô*) to the soul, and in the degree and proportion which are their strength, due to the advancement of good works by him who is righteous, *they* are suitable as enjoyment for him who is righteous. 21. He obtains durability thereby⁴ and necessarily preparation, conjointly *with* constant pleasure and without a single day's vexation (*ayôm-aê-bêshihâ*).

22. There is also an abundant joyfulness, of which no example is appointed (*vakhtô*) in the world from the beginning, but it comes thus to those who are heavenly ones *and* those of the supreme heaven; and of which even the highest worldly happiness and pleasure are no similitude, except through the possession of knowledge which is said *to be* a sample *of it* for worldly beings.

¹ It is doubtful whether we should read *le-denmanshânô*, a rare plural form of *denman*, 'this,' or whether it should be *le-denman yasdânô*; in the latter case the translation would be 'for these creatures of the sacred beings.'

² Assuming that *zinharânô* stands for *zinhârânô*, otherwise we must read *zôharânô*, 'holy-waters.'

³ The chief objects benefited by good works.

⁴ Reading *hangâmîh-ash*, but the construction is unusual.

23. And of *its* indications by the world the limited with the unlimited, the imperishable with perishableness, the consumable with inconsumableness are then no equivalent similitudes of it¹. 24. And *it is* the limited, perishable, and consumable *things* of the world's existence which are the imperishable *and* inconsumable *ones* of the existence of endless light², the indestructible *ones* of the all-beneficial and ever-beneficial space (*gûng*)³, and the all-joyful *ones*—without a single day's vexation—of the radiant supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*). 25. And the throne (*gâs*) of the righteous in heaven and the supreme heaven is the reward he obtains first, and is his until the resurrection, when even the world becomes pure *and* undisturbed; *he* is himself unchangeable thereby, *but* through the resurrection he obtains what is great and good and perfect, *and* is eternally glorious.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked goes to hell, how

¹ Meaning that no adequate conception can be obtained of the enjoyments of heaven by contrasting the earthly objects which most resemble it with those most opposed to it.

² The place of *Aûharmazd*, or heaven in general (see Bd. I, 2), where things which are perishable on earth become everlasting.

³ The 'constantly-beneficial place' of Pahl. Vend. XIX, 122, 'which is self-sustained, (its constant beneficialness is this, that, when it once became *so*, all of it became thereby ever-beneficial).' The Avesta version (trans. D.) merely calls it 'the sovereign place of eternal weal;' and it appears from Chap. XXXVII, 22, 24 that it is here understood as the unlimited space of heaven, contained in the 'endless light.'

does he go, *and in* what manner does he go; also, who comes to meet him, and who leads him¹ to hell; also, does any one of the infernal ones (dûsahûikânö) come to meet him, or how is it?

2. Shall they also inflict punishment upon him, for the sin which he *has* committed, at once, or is his punishment the same until the future existence?

3. Also, what is their food in hell, and of what description are their pain *and* discomfort; *and* is the limit of hell manifest, or how is it?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the wicked, the fourth night after passing away², *its* account *being* rendered, rolls head-foremost and totters (kapînédö) from the *Kinvad* bridge³; and *Vizarâsh*⁴, the demon, conveys (nâyedö)⁵ him cruelly bound therefrom, and leads him unto hell. 5. And with him are the spirits *and* demons connected with the sin of that *soul*, watching in many guises, resembling the very producers of doubt (vîmandâdârân-ikê), the wounders, slayers, destroyers, deadly ones, monsters (dûs-gerpânö), and criminals;

¹ M14 and J omit the words from 'also' to 'leads him.'

² The term 'passing away' is here used with reference to the death of a wicked person, contrary to the general rule (see Chap. XX, 2).

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ 'Then the fiend, named *Vizaresha*, carries off in bonds the souls of the wicked *Daëva*-worshippers who live in sin' (Vend. XIX, 94, trans. D.); see also Bd. XXVIII, 18, where the name is *Vizarêsh*, but it is always *Vizarâsh* in Dd. Here it has been first miswritten in K35, and afterwards corrected, so that later copyists have read *Vîrâsh*, as in M14 and J.

⁵ Identifying the verb with Av. *nayêiti* of Vend. V, 25, 31; or it may be read *vâyedö*, and identified with Av. *vayêiti* of Vend. XV, 17, or Av. *vâdhayêiti* of Vend. XIX, 94, without much change of meaning.

those *who* are unseemly, those, too, *who* are diseased *and* polluted, biters and tearers, noxious creatures, windy stenches, glooms, fiery stenches, thirsty ones, those of evil habits, disturbers of sleep (khvâp-khârân), and other special causers of sin and kinds of perverting, with whom, in worldly semblance, are the spiritual causers of distress. 6. And proportional *to* the strength *and* power which *have* become theirs, owing to his sin, they surround him uncomfortably, and make him experience vexation, even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*. 7. And through the leading of Vîzarâsh¹ he comes unwillingly unto hell, becomes a household attendant (khavag-i-mânôî-aitö) of the fiend and evil *one*, is repentant of the delusion of a desire for fables (vardakîhâ), is a longer for *getting* away from hell to the world, and *has* a wonderful desire for good works.

8. And his food is as a sample of those which are among the most fetid, most putrid, most polluted, and most thoroughly unpleasant; and *there* is no enjoyment and completeness *in* his eating, but he shall devour (*galâd*) with a craving which keeps him hungry and thirsty, due to water *which* is hastily *sipped*². 9. Owing to that vicious habit *there* is no satisfaction therefrom, but it increases his haste and the punishment, rapidity, and tediousness of his anguish.

10. The locality³ in hell is not limited (sâmâni-

¹ See § 4.

² Referring to the fact that a person who is both hungry and thirsty cannot quench his thirst, for more than a few minutes, by drinking water without eating.

³ Or, perhaps, 'his position,' if we read *divâk-as* instead of

ait) before the resurrection, *and* until the time of the renovation *of the universe* he is in hell. 11. Also out of his sin is the punishment connected *with it*, and that punishment comes upon him, from the fiend *and* spirit of his own sin, in that manner and proportion with which he *has* harassed and vexed *others*¹, and *has* revered, praised, and served that which is vile.

12. And at the time of the renovation, when the fiend perishes, the souls of the wicked pass into melted metal (ayênô)² *for* three days; and all fiends and evil thoughts, which are owing to their sin, have anguish effectually, and are hurried *away* by the cutting and breaking *away* of the accumulation (ham-dâdakîh) of sin of the wicked souls. 13. And by that pre-eminent (avartûm) ablution in the melted metal they are thoroughly purified from guilt and infamy (dastô va raspakô), and through the perseverance (khvâparîh)³ and mercifulness of the pre-eminent persistent ones they are pardoned, and become most saintly (môgtûm) pure ones; as it is said in metaphor that the pure are *of* two kinds, one which is glorious (khvârvatô), *and* one which is metallic (ayênavatô)⁴.

dîvâkîh, but the former reading would be more of a modern Persian idiom than a Pahlavi one.

¹ Or, '*the good*;' the word is not expressed in the Pahlavi text.

² Bd. XXX, 20 states that both the righteous and wicked are finally purified by melted metal which is a torment to the latter, but only like a bath in warm milk to the former.

³ See Chap. XIX, 7 n.

⁴ This is probably a misapplication of a Pahlavi phrase which contained the word âsnavatô, 'indestructible,' and was the translation of an Avesta passage containing the words *hvâthravand*, 'brilliant, glorious,' and *âsna*, 'stony, indestructible, enduring' (often translated 'heavenly'), which words are sometimes used together,

14. And after that purification *there* are no demons, no punishment, *and* no hell as regards the wicked, and their disposal (*virâstakö*) also is just; they become righteous, painless, deathless, fearless, and free from harm. 15. And with them comes the spirit of the good works which were done *and* instigated by them in the world, and procures them pleasure and joy in the degree and proportion of those good works. 16. But the recompense of a soul of the righteous is a better formation (*vêh-dâdih*) and more¹.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In which direction and which land is hell, and how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the place of a soul of the wicked, after the dying off² of the body, is in three districts (*vîmand*): one of them is called *that* of the ever-stationary³ of the wicked, and it is a

as in Yas. LIX, 14. As the Pahl. *âsnavatô* and *ayênavatô* are written alike they are easily confounded, but that 'metal' is meant here appears from Yas. L, 9, b, Bd. XXX, 20.

¹ M14 has 'and the position of more good works is better, the rank is greater, and the pleasure *and* delight more.'

² Literally 'dying down.'

³ Assuming that *ham-hastakân*, 'co-existences, associates,' is meant for *hamîstakân* (see the *hamîstânîkô* of Chap. XX, 3). From this it would appear that the place of the *Hamîstakân*, intermediate between heaven and hell, was itself supposed by the author to be divided into two widely separated regions, one for the slightly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for the slightly wicked, as here described. No such separation is mentioned in AV. and Mkh., and the passage is omitted in M14.

chaos (gûmêzakö), but the evil is abundantly and considerably more than the good; and the place is terrible, dark, stinking, and grievous *with* evil. 3. And one is that which is called the worst existence, and it is there the first tormentors (víkhrunîgânö) and demons have *their* abode; it is full of evil and punishment, and there is no comfort and pleasure whatever. 4. And one is called Drûgâskân¹, and is at the bottom of the gloomy existence, where the head (kamârâkö) of the demons rushes; there is the populous abode of all darkness and all evil.

5. These three places, collectively, are called hell, *which* is northerly, descending, and underneath this earth, even unto the utmost declivity of the sky; and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arezûr ridge², a mountain which, among its fellow mountains of the name of Arezûr³ that are amid the rugged (kôfik) mountains, is said in revelation⁴ *to have* a great fame with the demons, and the rushing together and assembly of the demons in the world are on the summit of that mountain, *or* as it is called 'the head of Arezûr.'

¹ The Av. drugaskanām of Vend. XIX. 139, which is translated 'the slothful ones of the Drug' by Darmesteter, 'the servants of the Drug' by Harlez, and 'wizards' in Haug's Essays, p. 336. Drûgâskân is said to be a son of the evil spirit in Bd. XXXI, 6.

² See Bd. XII, 8.

³ Bd. XII, 16 mentions another Arezûr 'in the direction of Arûm.'

⁴ Vend. XIX, 142 (trans. D.) says 'they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. *As to* the thirty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In what manner is there one way of the righteous from the Dâtiḥ peak¹ to heaven, and one of the wicked to hell; and *what is* their nature?

2. The reply is this, that one is for ascent, and one for descent; and on account of both being of one appearance I write thus much for understanding and full explanation, that is to say:—3. The righteous souls pass over on the *Kinvad* bridge² by spiritual flight and the power of good works; and they step forth up to the star, or to the moon, or to the sun station, or to the endless light³. 4. The soul of the wicked, owing to *its* falling *from* the bridge, its lying demon, and the pollution collected by its sin, they shall lead therefrom to the descent into the earth, as both ways *lead* from that bridge on the Dâtiḥ peak.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Does this world become quite without men⁴, so that *there* is no bodily existence in *it* what-

¹ See Chap. XXI, 2.

² See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

³ These are the four grades of heaven, as described in AV. VII-X, Mkh. VII, 9-11.

⁴ Reading *avîk* (or *avih*) *anshûtâ*, but it may possibly be *avî-î anshûtâ*, 'without a single man.'

ever, and then shall they produce the resurrection, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that this world, continuously from *its* immaturity even unto *its* pure renovation, *has* never been, and also *will* not be, without men; and *in* the evil spirit, the worthless (*asapîr*), no stirring desire of this arises. 3. And near to the time of the renovation the bodily existences desist from eating, and live without food (*pavan akhûris-nih*)¹; and the offspring who are born from them are those of an immortal, for they possess durable and blood-exhausted (*khûn-girâi*) bodies. 4. Such are *they* who are the bodily-existing men that are in the world when there are men, passed *away*, who rise again and live again.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Who are they who are requisite in producing the renovation *of the universe*, who were they, and how are they?

2. The reply is this, that of those assignable for that most perfect work the statements recited are lengthy, for even Gâyômarđ, Yim the splendid, Zaratûst the Spîtamân², the *spiritual* chief (*radô*) of the righteous, and many great thanksgivers *were*

¹ Bd. XXX, 3 states that men first abstain from meat, afterwards from vegetables and milk, and, finally, from water.

² See Chap. II, 10. His title, which is nearly always written Spîtamân in K₃₅ (rarely Spîtamân), is Av. spitama or spitâma, but is usually understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bd. XXXII, 1).

appointed for completing the appliances of the renovation; and their great miracles and successful (*avakîragânik*) management *have* moved on, which works for the production of the renovation¹. 3. Likewise, on the approach of the renovation, Keresâsp² the Sâmân who smites Dahâk, Kai-Khûsrôî³ who *was* made to pass *away* by Vâê the long-continuing lord⁴, Tûs and Vêvan⁵ the allies (*avâkânô*), *and* many other mighty doers are aiding the production of the renovation.

4. But those who are the producers of the renovation more *renowned* throughout the spheres (*vâs-pôharakânîktar*) are said *to be* seven, whose names are Rôshanô-*kashm*⁶, Khûr-*kashm*, Frâdad-gadman,

¹ That is, even these ancient rulers and legislators have contributed to the final renovation of the universe by their wise actions and laws.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), whose mysterious disappearance, as related in the Shâhnâmah, is evidently alluded to here.

⁴ The Av. *vayãm dareghô-hvadhâtîm* of Khûrshêd Nyâyish, 1, that seems to be identified here with the good Vâê (see Chap. XXX, 4), who conducts the soul to the other world.

⁵ The Tûs and Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 and the Shâhnâmah, where they are said to have been frozen in the mountain snow, with other warriors, after the disappearance of Kai-Khûsrôî. They are the Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and, perhaps, Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115, but the Pahlavi form Vêvan (or Vîvô) of our text is inconsistent with the latter identification; the form Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 is merely Pâzand.

⁶ These names are the Av. *Raokas-kaêshman*, *Hvare-kaêshman*, *Frâdad-hvarenô*, *Varedad-hvarenô*, *Vouru-nemô*, *Vouru-savô*, and *Saoshyâs* of Fravardîn Yt. 128, 129, partly transcribed, partly translated, and partly corrupted into Pahlavi. The corruptions are easily explained thus: Av. *vouru*, 'wide,' when written in Pahlavi is often identical with *varen*, 'desire,' and has been so read by a later copyist and then translated by its synonym *kâmak*; Av.

Vâredad-gadman, Kâmak-vakhshisn, Kâmak-sûd, and Sôshâns. 5. As it is said that in the fifty-seven years¹, which are the period of the raising of the dead, Rôshanô-kashm in Arzâh², Khûr-kashm in Savâh, Frâdad-gadman in Fradadâfsh, Vâredad-gadman in Vidadâfsh, Kâmak-vakhshisn in Vôrûbarst, and Kâmak-sûd in Vôrûgarst, while Sôshâns in the illustrious and pure Khvanîras is connected with them, are immortal. 6. The completely good sense, perfect hearing, and full glory of those seven producers of the renovation are so miraculous that they converse from region unto region, every one together with the six *others*, just as now men at an interview utter words of conference and co-operation with the tongue, one to the other, and can hold a conversation³.

7. The same perfect deeds for six⁴ years in the six *other* regions, and for fifty years in the illustrious Khvanîras⁵, prepare immortality, and set going ever-

nemô is translated by Pahl. niyâyisn, 'homage, praise,' which is written very much like vakhshisn, 'increase,' and has been so read by a later copyist. For the first two names and the last see Chap. II, 10.

¹ The same period is mentioned in Bd. XXX, 7.

² That is, there is one of the seven producers of the renovation in each of the seven Kêshvars, or regions of the earth, of which Arzâh is the western, Savâh the eastern, Fradadâfsh and Vidadâfsh the two southern, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst the two northern, and Khvanîras the central one (see Bd. V, 8, 9, XI, 2-4).

³ If this passage were found in the Christian scriptures, it would very probably be considered as a prophetic allusion to the electric telegraph and telephone.

⁴ So in all MSS., but one would expect it to be 'seven,' so as to complete the fifty-seven years of § 5. The number being written in ciphers the difference between 'six' and 'seven' is very slight.

⁵ This central region of the earth is that which contains Irân and all lands well known to the Irânians.

lasting life and everlasting weal (sûdîh) through the help and power and glory of the omniscient *and* beneficent spirit, the creator Aûharmazd.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. *As to* the thirty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How shall they produce the resurrection, how do they prepare the dead, and when the dead are prepared by them, how are they?

2. When it is produced by them, is an increase in the brilliance of the stars, moon, and sun necessary, *and* does it arise, or not? are *there* seas, rivers, *and* mountains, or not? and is the world just as large as this, or does it become more *so* and wider?

3. The reply is this, that the preparation and production of the resurrection are an achievement *connected* with miracle, a sublimity (rabâih), and, afterwards, also a wondrous appearance unto the creatures who are uninformed. 4. The secrets and affairs of the persistent creator are like every mystery and secret; excepting himself—he who is *capable* of all knowledge, the fully-informed, and all in all (vispânö vispô)—no one of the worldly beings and imperfect spirits *has* known them.

5. A true proverb (gôbîsnö-gô) of the intelligent *and* worldly, which is obvious, is that as it is easier in teaching to teach *again* learning *already* taught *and* forgotten than that which *was* untaught, and easier to repair *again* a well-built house, given gratuitously, than that *which* is not *so* given, so also the formation *again* of that which *was* formed is more excellent (hunîrtar), and the wonder is

less, than the creation of creatures. 6. And through the wisdom and glory *of* the omniscient and omnipotent creator, by whom the saddened (*âlikhtö*) creatures *were* created, that which *was* to perish is produced again anew, *and that which was* not to perish, except a little, is produced handsome even for a creation of the creator¹.

7. He who is a pure, spiritual creature is made unblemished; he, also, who is a worldly creature is immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless, undistressed and painless; while, though he moves (*gundêdö*) in a gloomy, evil existence, the fiend is rightly judging from *its* arrangement (*min nivârdö*) *that it* is not the place of a beneficent *being*, but the place of an existence *which* is deadly, ignorant, deceiving, full of malice, seducing, destroying, causing disgrace, making unobservant (*aûbêngar*), and full of envy. 8. And his existence is so full of malice, deceit, seductiveness, unobservance, destructiveness, and destruction that *he has* no voice except for accomplices (*ham-bûdîkân*) and antagonists, except also for his own *creatures and* gossips when *their* hearts are desirous of evil, seducing, destroying, making unobservant, causing malice, *and* bearing envy. 9. And *he* is disclosed (*vishâd*) from his own origin and abyss full of darkness, unto the limits of darkness *and* confines of the luminaries; and in his terribleness and demoniacal deliberation he gazes at the unblemished light and creatures of the beneficent *Aûharmazd*. 10. And through abundant envy and complete maliciousness is his lying; and he mounts (*sûbârêdö*) to seize, destroy,

¹ This last clause is omitted in M14 and J.

render unobservant, and cause to perish *these* same well-formed creatures of the sacred beings. 11. And owing to his observance of falsehood he directed falsehood *and* lies with avidity (varenō), which were necessary for obtaining his success in his own rendering *others* unobservant (aûbênō); even in the nine thousand winters (hazangrôk zim)¹ of falsehood that which is disregarded therein is his own falsity.

12. He who is the most lordly of the lords of the pre-eminent luminaries, and the most spiritual of spirits, and all *the beings* of Aûharmazd the creator—who was himself capable of an effectual (tûbânō) gain for every scheme of his²—do not allow that fiend into the interior, into the radiance (farôgid) of the luminaries. 13. And *they*³ understood through *their* own universal wisdom that fiend's thoughts⁴ of vileness, *and* meditation of falsehood

¹ The interval between the first appearance and the final disappearance of the evil spirit. Twelve thousand years are supposed to elapse between the first creation and the resurrection; during the first three (about B.C. 8400–5400) the creation remains undisturbed in a spiritual state, during the next three (B.C. 5400–2400) the evil spirit appears, but flies back to hell in confusion, during the next three (B.C. 2400–A. D. 600) he attacks the creation and keeps it in a constant state of tribulation, and during the last three (A. D. 600–3600) his power, having attained its maximum, is gradually weakened till it is finally destroyed at the resurrection (see Bd. I, 8, 18, 20, 22, III, 1, XXXIV, 1–9, Byt. III, 11, 44, 52, 61, 62).

² Probably 'the fiend,' but the sentence is by no means clear.

³ As the verbs 'allow' in § 12 and 'accept' in § 13 are both plural we must understand that the opposition to the fiend arises from the spiritual creatures of Aûharmazd, and not from Aûharmazd alone.

⁴ Reading minishnō instead of mainôgânō, 'spirits;' the difference between these words in Pahlavi being only a single stroke.

and lies, and became aware of *them* by themselves and through their own intuition, and shall not accept the perdition (aôshih) of the fiend, *but* are to be rightly listening to the commands of him¹ who is worthy. 14. For his² is not the nature of him who is good, *nor* the wisdom of him who is propitious; and he does not turn from the confines of the shining ones, and the developments pertaining to those of the good *being*³, until he arrives at the creatures; and he struggles in an attempt (aûzmânö), spreads forth into the sky, is mobbed (garôhagî-ait) in combats, is completely surrounded, *and* is tested *with* perfect appliances. 15. His resources, also, are destroyed, *his* internal⁴ vigour is subdued, *his* weapons of falsehood are disregarded, and *his* means of deceiving shall perish; and with completeness of experience, thorough painfulness, routed troops, broken battle-array, and disarranged means he enjoys on the outside the radiance of the luminaries with the impotence (anaŧyyâragih) of a desire which again returns to him.

16. And the same well-shining light of all kinds of the creator, when they shall not let in him who is Aharman, shall remain an unlimited time, *while* the fiend is in household attendance on those of the frontier through not being let in, *and* constantly troubled at the everlasting creatures. 17. The household attendance of the fiend seemed to it⁵ perpetually afflicting; and also the previous struggle

¹ Aûharmanazd.

² The fiend's.

³ Reading vêhikânakö vakhshisnö.

⁴ Assuming that andarmûnih is a form analogous to pirâmûnih, and with the meaning of andarûnih.

⁵ The light.

of the fiend when the celestial spirit (ahvô) *pertain-
ing* to the luminaries *was* not contended *with* by
him, *his* defeat (makhîûntanö) when the lumi-
naries *were* not defeated by him, *his* infliction of
punishment before sin, and *his* causing hatred before
hatred *exists* are all recounted by it to the justice
and judiciousness whose unchangeableness, will, per-
sistence, and freedom from hatred—which is the
character of its faithful ones—are not so¹, to him
who is the primeval (pêsakö) creator.

18. The fiend, after *his* falsity, the struggle—on
account of the fighting of the shining ones *and* the
decreed keeping *him* away which *was* due to the fighter
for the luminaries—*and* the ill-success of the struggle
of himself and army, ordered the beating back of
the worthy fighter *against* destruction, the malicious
avenging again of the causer of hatred, *and* the de-
stroyer's internal vileness and disorganisation anew of
his own place. 19. He saw the beneficent actions by
which, through the wisdom of Aûharmazd, the spiri-
tual wisdom², within the allotted (burîn-hômônd)
time, the limited space, the restricted conflict, the
moderate trouble, *and* the definite (fargâm-hômand)
labour *existing*, struggles against the fiend, who is the
unlawful establisher *of* the wizard; and he returned
inside to fall disarmed (asâmânö) *and* alive, *and*
until he shall be fully tormented (pûr-dardag-hâe)
and shall be thoroughly experienced, they shall not³
let *him* out again in the allotted time that the fiend
ordered *for* the success of falsehood *and* lies. 20.

¹ That is, they are altogether different from the faults of the
fiend, just recounted.

² Perhaps the same as 'the spirit of wisdom' of Mkh.

³ Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'on account of.'

And the same fiend *and* the primeval (kâdmôn) demons are cast out confusedly, irreverently, sorrowfully, disconcertedly, fully afflicting *their* friends, thoroughly experienced, even with their falsehoods and not inordinate means¹, with lengthy slumbers, with broken-down (avasist) deceits and dissipated resources, confounded and impotent, into the perdition of Aharman, the disappearance of the fiend, the annihilation of the demons, and the non-existence of antagonism.

21. To make the good creatures again fresh and pure, *and* to keep *them* constant and forward in pure and virtuous conduct is to render *them* immortal; and the not letting in of the co-existent *one*², owing to the many new assaults (padgastōih) that *occur* in his perpetual household attendance³ of falsity—through which *there* would have been a constant terror of light for the creatures of the sacred beings—is to maintain a greater advantage. 22. And his (Aôharmazd's) means are not the not letting in of the *fiend*, but the triumph arranged for himself in the end—the endless⁴, unlimited light *being* also produced by him, and the constantly-beneficial space⁵

¹ The words va avigâftō afzârihâ are omitted in M14 and J.

² The evil spirit. As the co-existent spirits of good and evil are antagonistic the word ham-budîkō, 'co-existent,' is often supposed to mean 'antagonistic.'

³ See § 16. M14 and J have only 'that *occur* through his falsity *and* the constant terror of light *which* would have arisen from him.'

⁴ That the term asar has only its etymological meaning 'endless,' and not the wider sense of 'eternal,' is clear from this phrase. The 'endless light' is the phrase used in Pahlavi to express Av. anaghra raokau, a term implying 'the fixed stars,' so the passage in the text is very suggestive of the phrase, 'he made the stars also' (Gen. i. 16).

⁵ Instead of gung, 'space,' we might read gang, 'treasury,'

that is self-sustained—which (triumph) is the resource of all natures, races, characters, powers, *and* duties from the beginning and maturing of those of the good religion and the rushing of the liar and destroyer on to the creatures, which are requisite *for* the final, legitimate triumph of the well-directing creator, and *for* the termination of the struggles of all by the protection and recompense of the praises and propitiation performed, which are the healing of the righteous *and* the restoration of the wicked *at* the renovation. 23. Even these developments, even these established habits (*dad-sānīhā*), even these emissions of strength, even these births, even these races, even these townspeople (*dihikōihā*), even these characters, even these sciences¹, even these manageable and managing ones², and even these other, many, special species and manners which at various periods (*anbānō*) of time are in the hope that the quantity and nature of their auxiliaries *may be* complete, and their coming accomplished and not deficient in success (*vakhtō*), are distributed and made happy by him.

24. The sky is in three thirds, of which the one at the top is joined to the endless light, in which is the constantly-beneficial space; the one at the

but it is written *gūng* in Chap. XXXI, 24, according to K₃₅, and the meaning 'space' is more appropriate to the *gātus hvadhātō*, 'self-sustained place,' of Vend. XIX, 122. The epithet 'constantly-beneficial' is a Pahl. translation of Av. *misvāna*, and is evidently applied here to the unlimited heavenly space contained in the 'endless light' (see § 24) and including the supreme heaven, as appears from the order in which these three existences (the earliest creations of *Aūharmazd*) are mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 24.

¹ M₁₄ and J have 'separate doers.'

² M₁₄ and J have 'doers at different times.'

bottom reached to the gloomy abyss, in which is the fiend full of evil; and one is between those two thirds *which are* below and above. 25. And the uppermost third, *which* is called 'the rampart of the supreme heaven' (garôdmânô drupûstô)¹, was made by him with purity, all splendour, and every pleasure, and no access to it for the fiend. 26. And he provided that third for undisturbedly convoking the pure, the archangels, *and* the righteous *that have* offered praises who, as *it were* unarmed (azenâvar), struggle unprepared *and* thoroughly in contest *with* the champions of the co-existent *one*, and they smite the co-existent *one* and his own progeny (gôhârakö) *already* described, and afford support to the imperishable state², through the help of the archangels and the glory of the creator. 27. And, again also, in their³ fearlessness they seek for the destruction of the demons and for the perfection of the creatures of the good *beings*; as *one* who is fearless, owing to some rampart which is inaccessible *to* arrows and blows, and shoots arrows at the expanse below, is troubled (bakhsêdö) for friends below.

28. And he made a distinction in the prescribed splendour and glory for the lowermost third of the sky; and the difference is *that* it is liable to injury (pavan resh), so that the fiend, who is void of goodness, comes *and* makes that third full of darkness and full of demons, *and* shall be able to perplex in that difficulty when the thousand winters occur, and the five detested (lakhsîdakö) kinds of the

¹ Bd. III, 26 says that 'the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.'

² Reading âgûrazênd val asep gûn.

³ Assuming that val stands for valman or valmansân.

demons of life¹ have also overwhelmed with sin those of the wicked who are deceived by the demons and *have* fled from the contest. 29. *But* they shall not let the fiend fully in, owing to the luminaries of the resplendent *one*, during the allotted time when the demons' punishing and the repentance of the wicked are accomplished.

30. And he appointed for the middle third the creatures of the world separated² from the world and the spiritual *existence*; and among those creatures³ *were* produced for them the managing man *as* a guardian of the creatures, and the deciding wisdom *as* an appliance of man; *and* the true religion, the best of knowledge *was* prepared by him. 31. And that third is for the place of combat and the contest of the two different natures⁴; and in the uppermost part of the same third is stationed by him the light *of* the brilliant sun and moon and glorious stars, and *they* are provided by him that they may watch⁵ the coming of the adversary, and revolve around the creatures. 32. All the *sacred* ceremonies of the distant earth (bûm), the light, the abundant rains, and the good angels vanquish

¹ Probably referring to the five fiends, or demonesses, which are the special embodiments of each man's evil passions, and are thus detailed in Mkh. XLI, 9-11:—'That man is the stronger who is able to contend with his own fiends, and who keeps these five fiends, in particular, far from *his* body, which are such as avarice, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent.'

² Reading *fîsarîdakö*, but the word is doubtful. This central region of the sky would seem to be the place of the 'ever-stationary,' if it do not include the earth itself, which is not quite clear, owing to the obscure style of the author.

³ While in the world.

⁴ The beneficent and evil spirits.

⁵ Reading *venâpênd*, but the word is doubtful.

and smite the wizards *and* witches who rush *about* below them¹, *and* struggle to perplex by injury to the creatures; they make all such assailants become fugitives². 33. And through their revolution the ascents and descents, the increase and diminution (narafsisnǝ), of the creatures³ shall occur, the flow and ebb of the seas, and the increase of the dye-like⁴ blood of the inferior creatures⁵; also owing to them *and* through *them* have elapsed the divisions of the days, nights, months, years, periods, *and* all the millenniums (hazagrôk zîmân) of time.

34. He also appointed unto *our* forefathers the equipment which is their own, a material vesture, a sturdy bravery, and the guardian spirits of the righteous; and he provided that they *should* remain *at* various times in their own nature⁶, and come into worldly vesture. 35. And those for great hosts *and* many slaves are born, for the duties of the period, into *some* tribe; he who has plenty of offspring is like Fravâk⁷, he who is of the early law

¹ Below the sun, moon, and stars which protect the creatures.

² Literally 'springers back.'

³ Reading dâmîkǝ, but the word is unusual; it might be read dahmîkǝ, 'of the holy man,' or be considered a corruption of damîkǝ, 'earth.'

⁴ Reading rangmânǝ, but the word is doubtful.

⁵ Five folios of text are here interpolated in J, of which four contain the passage (Ep. II, vi, 4—ix, 7) omitted at the end of that MS., and the fifth contains a passage on the same subject as Ep. III, and which may possibly be part of the text missing in Ep. III, 11.

⁶ Meaning that the unembodied spirits of men should enter upon their worldly existence.

⁷ The great-grandson of the primeval man, Gâyômarz, and the forefather of the fifteen races of undeformed human beings (see Bd. XV, 25-31, XXXI, 1).

(pêsdâdö) like Hôshâng¹, he who is a smiter of the demon like Tâkhmôrup², he who is full of glory like Yim³, he who is full of healing like Frêdûn, he who has both wisdoms⁴ like the righteous Mânûsêihar⁵, he who is full of strength like Keresâsp⁶, he who is of a glorious race like Kaî-Kavâd⁷, he who is full of wisdom like Aôshânar⁸. 36. He who is noble is like Sîyâvash⁹, he who is an eminent doer (a varkâr) like Kaî-Khûsrôî¹⁰, he who is exalted like Kaî-Vistâsp¹¹, he who is completely good like the righteous Zaratûst¹², he who arranges the world like Peshyôtanû¹³, he who is over the religion (dîn ô-

¹ See Chap. II, 10 for this and the following three names.

² He is said to have kept the evil spirit thirty years as a steed (see Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29, Mkh. XXVII, 22).

³ Here written Gîm.

⁴ Instinctive wisdom and that acquired by experience (see Chap. XL, 3).

⁵ Av. Manusêithra; the descendant of Frêdûn, in the eleventh generation, who overthrew the usurpation of the collateral branches of his family, and restored the Irânian line of the Pêsdâdian dynasty in his own person (see Bd. XXXI, 12-14, XXXIV, 6).

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 6.

⁷ Av. Kavi Kavâta; the first king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁸ Probably the Av. Aoshnara, mentioned in Âf. Zarat., along with several of the other names, in a passage somewhat similar to that in our text. The name here can also be read Aûsh-khûr.

⁹ Av. Kavi Syâvarshân; the son of king Kaî-Kâûs and father of king Kaî-Khûsrôî, but he did not reign himself. He is said to have formed the settlement of Kangdez (see Chap. XC, 5, Bd. XXXI, 25, Byt. III, 25, 26).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVI, 3.

¹¹ Av. Kavi Vistâspa, Pers. Gustâsp; the fifth king of the Kayânian dynasty, who received the religion from Zaratûst. His father, the fourth king, was of collateral descent from the first king (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29, XXXIV, 7).

¹² The great apostle of the Parsis (see Chap. II, 10).

¹³ Av. Peshôtanu; a son of Kaî-Vistâsp, who is said to be

avarag) like *Âtûrö-pâd*¹, he who is liturgical like *Hûshêdar*², he who is legal like *Hûshêdar-mâh*, and he who is metrical and concluding like *Sôshâns*.
 37. Among them are many illustrious ones, glorious doers, supporters of the religion, and good managers, who are completely (*âpûr*) for the smiting of the fiend and the will of the creator.

38. He also produced the creatures as contenders, and granted assistance (*vêdvarih*), through the great, in the struggle for the perfect happiness from heaven at the renovation³ of the universe; and he made *them* universally (*vâspôharakânihâ*) contented.

39. A vitiated thought of a living, well-disposed being is a stumble (*nisivö*) which is owing to evil; and these are even those⁴ contented with death, because they know their limit, and it shall be definite (*burinö-hômônd*) and terminable; the evil of the world, in life, is definite, and they shall not make *one* exist unlimitedly and indefinitely in the evil of the world, through an eternal life with pain.

40. And through a great mystery, wholly miraculous, he produced a durable immortality for the living; a perplexity so long as the best and utmost of it is such an immortality of adversity, for *it* is

immortal and to live in Kangdez, whence he is to come to restore the religion in the millennium of *Hûshêdar* (see Chap. XC, 3, 5, Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25-32, 36-38, 41, 42).

¹ Probably the supreme high-priest and prime minister of the ninth Sasanian king, *Shâpûr II* (A.D. 309-379; see Bd. XXXIII, 3).

² See Chap. II, 10 for these last three names. The terms *mânsarîk*, 'liturgical,' *dâdîk*, 'legal,' and *gâsânîk*, 'metrical,' are those applied to the three divisions of the twenty-one Nasks, or books of the complete literature of the *Mazda*-worshippers.

³ *M14* and *J* have merely 'granted assistance in the struggle at the renovation.'

⁴ Assuming that *gha7* stands for *valman*, as it sometimes does.

ever living molested and eternally suffering. 41. And their development, the strength of lineage obtained, is ever young in succession, and the tender, well-destined *ones*, who are good, are in adversity and perpetuity of life, so that there is a succession of life through their own well-destined offspring¹. 42. They become eternally famous, so that they obtain, every one, an old age which is renewed, *free* from sickness and decay, visibly in their own offspring and family (gôharakö) whenever they become complete; and any one of the combative, whose struggle is through the smiting that his fellow-combatant obtains, is of a comfortable disposition at the balance². 43. This *one*, too, is for stepping forth to heaven, even as that pre-eminent *one* of the righteous, the greatest of the apostles and the most fortunate of those born, the chief of worldly beings, the righteous Zaratûst the Spitamân, when the omniscient wisdom, *as* a trance (gîp), came upon him from Aûharmazd, and he saw him who *was* immortal *and* childless, and also him *who was* mortal *and provided* with children; that perpetual life of the childless then seemed to him terrible, and that succession of mortals *seemed* commendable³; so that

¹ M14 and J have merely: 'are a succession in adversity and perpetuity of life.'

² Assuming that tarâz stands for tarâzûk. The meaning is that any one who has successfully struggled with sin in the world, and leaves offspring behind him, goes to his account, at the balance of the angel Rashnû, with cheerfulness.

³ This seems to be a variation of the statement in Byt. II, 13, where Zaratûst, after asking for immortality, and having had the omniscient wisdom infused into him for a week, describes what he had seen, and amongst other things says: 'I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and it did not seem to me commendable; and I

the coming of *his* assured offspring¹, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns², became more longed for and more desired, and death *more* than the perpetual life of his own body.

44. And when he³ who is all-watchful and all-knowing had arranged the means of opposing the fiend, *there* came for destroying, like a general leader (*vispvar*), that fiend of deceiving nature, the harassing, rushing, evil-wishing, primeval (*pêš*) contender, *together* with the demons Akômanô ('evil thought')⁴, Aêshm ('wrath'), Zarmân ('decrepitude'), Bûshasp ('lethargy'), craving distress, bygone luck⁵, Vâê⁶, Varenô ('lust')⁷, Astô-vidâd⁸, and Vizarâsh⁹, and the original, innumerable demons and fiends of Mâzendarân¹⁰. 45. And his darkness and gloom, scorpions (*ka dz û n ö*), porcupines, and vermin, poison

saw a pauper with many children, and it seemed to me commendable.'

¹ The Av. *âsna frazaintis*, 'inherent or natural offspring,' of Yas. LIX, 14, &c. The Pahl. equivalents *âsnûdak* and *âsnîdak* can hardly be mere transliterations of *âsna*, but are more probably translations, formed of *â + sunudak* and *sinîdak*, with some such meaning as 'assured.'

² These three future apostles (see Chap. II, 10) are considered to be sons of Zaratûst (see Bd. XXXII, 8).

³ *Aûharmasd*.

⁴ These first four demons are described in Bd. XXVIII, 7, 15-17, 23, 26.

⁵ The words *nîyâsînâkô tangîh bûdô bakhtô*, here translated, may possibly be a miswriting of five names of demons.

⁶ The bad *Vâê* (see Chap. XXX, 4).

⁷ See Bd. XXVIII, 25.

⁸ A demon of death (see Chap. XXIII, 3, note, Bd. XXVIII, 35).

⁹ Another demon of death (see Chap. XXXII, 4, 7).

¹⁰ The mountainous country south of the Caspian, said to be full of demons, the *Mâzainya daêva* of the Avesta (see Bd. III, 20, XV, 28). These demons were, no doubt, merely idolaters.

and venom, and the mischief originally in the lowermost third of the sky¹, issue upwards, astute in evil, into the middle third, in which are the agreeable² creatures which Aûharmazd created.

46. And he smote the ox³, he made Gâyômarð mortal, and he shook the earth; and the land was shattered, creation became dark, and the demons rushed below, above, and on all sides, and they mounted even to the uppermost third of the sky⁴.

47. And there the barricade (band) and rampart fortifying (vakhshikö) the spiritual world is approached, for which the safeguard (nigâs) of all barricades⁵, that is itself the great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts—which is the safeguard of all barricades—is arrayed. 48. And the splendid, belt-bearing Pleiades⁶, like the star-studded girdle of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, are so arrayed as luminaries of the fully-glorious ones. 49. And there was no possibility (aitökîh) of any demon or fiend, nor yet even of

¹ See § 28.

² By omitting 'a stroke nôš, 'agreeable,' would become vêh, 'good.'

³ The sole-created, or primeval ox, whence all animals are said to have sprung. For an account of this incursion of the fiend, see Bd, III, 12-20, VIII, 1, Zs. II, 1-11.

⁴ M14 and J have 'even to the upper sky of the middle third,' which means the same thing, as the author's words imply that the demons did not enter the upper third, but only reached its borders (see § 49).

⁵ M14 and J conclude the sentence as follows: 'the pure religion, solving doubts, is arrayed.'

⁶ Reading vandvar Pêrvakö. The author seems to have been thinking of Yas. IX, 81: 'Mazda brought to thee the star-studded, spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Pleiades; the good Mazda-worshipping religion' (Haug's Essays, p. 182).

the demon of demons, the mightiest (mazvantûm) in valour, rushing up across that boundary; they are beaten back now, when *they have* not reached *it* from the gloom, at once *and* finally (yak-vayô akhar).

50. And the fiend *of* gloomy race, accustomed to destruction (aôsh-âyin), changed into causes of death the position (gâs) of the brilliant, supreme heaven of the pure, heavenly angels—which he ordained through the power *of*¹ Mitôkht ('falsehood')—and the triumph of the glory of the world's creatures, *as ordained* through two decrees (zikö):—one, the destruction of the living by the power² of death; and one causing the manacling of souls by a course of wickedness. 51. And he made *as* leaders therein that *one* astute in evil who is *already* named³, and Astô-vidâd⁴ *who* is explained *as* 'the disintegration of material beings;' he also intrusted the demon Bûshasp ('lethargy')⁴ with the weakening of the breath, the demon Tap ('fever')⁵ with stupefying and disordering the understanding, and the demon Âz ('greediness')⁶ with suggesting cravings and causing drinking before *having* the thirst of a dog⁷. 52. Also the demon Zarmân ('decrepitude')⁸ for injuring the body and abstract-

¹ Or, zôharakö may mean 'venomous.' Mitôkht was the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16) who is supposed to be as much 'the father of lies' as his counterpart, the devil of the Christians.

² Or, zôhar may mean 'venom.'

³ Mitôkht.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁶ See Bd. XXVIII, 27.

⁷ Reading pês tîsnö-i sagak nôsânîñîdanö, but we might read pês tîsnög sedkûnisîñîdanö, 'causing gnawing before *being* thirsty.'

⁸ See § 44 for this demon and the next two.

ing the strength; the bad Vâé's tearing away the life by stupefying the body; the demon Aêshm ('wrath') for occasioning trouble by contests, *and* causing an increase of slaughter; the noxious creatures of gloomy *places* for producing stinging and causing injury; the demon Zâirîk¹ for poisoning eatables and producing causes of death; with Niyâz ('want')² the stealthily-moving and dreading the light³, the fearfulness of Nihiv ('terror') chilling the warmth, and many injurious powers and demons of the destroyers *were* made by him constant assistants of Astô-vidâd in causing death.

53. Also, for rendering wicked *and* making *fit* for hell those whose souls are under the sway of⁴ falsehood (kadbâ), which in religious language is called Mîtôkht—since it is said in revelation that that is as much an evil as all the demons with the demons of demons—*there* is Akômanô ('evil thought')⁵, who is with the evil spirit owing to the speaking of Mîtôkht ('falsehood')⁶. 54. And for his doctrine (dînôih) of falsehood, and winning the creatures, slander the deceiver, lust the selfish, hatred, and envy, besides the overpowering progress of disgrace (nang), the improper desires of the creatures, indolence in seeking wisdom, quarrelling about that

¹ One of the seven arch-fiends, the Av. Zairîka, which probably means 'decay,' but from the resemblance of his name to zâhar, 'poison,' he is called 'the maker of poison' (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11).

² See Bd. XXVIII, 26.

³ Reading gadman bîm, but it may be yadman bîm, 'dreading the hand;' and it is doubtful whether the epithet be applied to Niyâz, or to Nihiv.

⁴ Reading î instead of the va, 'and,' of the MSS.

⁵ See § 44.

⁶ See § 50.

which is no indication of learning, disputing (*sitôg*) about the nature of a righteous *one*, and many other seductive powers *and* demons helping to win, *were* made auxiliary to the doctrine of falsehood in deceiving the creatures.

55. Also, to turn his disturbance¹ to creatures of even other kinds, *there* are demons *and* fiends of further descriptions (*fréh-aitân*); and for the assistance of those combatants he established also *those* afflictions (*nîvakân*) of many, the witches of natures for gloomy *places*, whose vesture is the radiance of the lights² that fall, *and* rush, and turn below the luminaries which have to soar (*vâzîsnîkânô*) in stopping the way of *any* little concealment of the spirits *and* worldly *beings*³. 56. And they (the witches) overspread the light and glory of those *luminaries*, of whose bestowal of glory and their own diminution *of it*, moreover, for seizing the creatures, consist the pain, death, and original evil of the abode for the demon of demons⁴.

57. And those demons *and* original fiends, who are the heads and mighty *ones* of the demons, injudiciously, prematurely moving, prematurely speaking, not for their own disciplined advantage,

¹ Reading *paîtîyâarakô*, but K35 and J have *paîtâsâarakô*, which, if it be a real word, would have nearly the same meaning.

² Shooting stars, meteors, and comets, the last of which are apparently intended by the term *Mûspar* (*Av. Mûs pairika*, 'the *Mûs* witch') of Bd.V, 1, XXVIII, 44.

³ That is, the luminaries which have to prevent these beings from becoming obscured by the darkness produced by the evil spirits.

⁴ By the omission of one loop the MSS. have *yazdânô*, 'angels,' instead of *shêdânô*, 'demons;'; the difference between the two words being very slight in Pahlavi characters.

but with unbecoming hatred, lawless manner¹, envy, *and* spears exposing the body², undesirably struggle together—a perplexing contention of troublers—about the destruction of the luminaries. 58. The army of angels, judiciously and leisurely fighting for the good creatures of the sacred beings, not with premature hatred and forward spears (*pê s-nîzahîh*), but by keeping harm away *from* themselves—the champions' customary mode³ of wounding—valiantly, strongly, properly, and completely triumphantly struggle *for* a victory triumphantly fought. 59. For Aharman the demons are procurers (*vashîkânö*) of success *in* the contests till the end, when the fiend becomes invisible *and* the creatures become pure.

60. Since worldly *beings* observe, explain, *and* declare among worldly *beings* the work of the spirits and knowledge of customs (*rîstakö*), by true observation, through wisdom, *that* that life (*zîk*) is proper when *it is* in the similitude of the true power of wisdom, *and* the visible life is undiscerning of that which is to come *and* that which is provided, so also the evidence of a knowledge of the end of the contention is certain *and* clearly visible. 61. And tokens are discernible and signs apparent which, to the wisdom of the ancients—if it extended, indeed, to a knowledge about this pre-eminent subject—*were* hidden by the fiends, who are concealers *of them* from the perception (*hâzîsnö*) of worldly *beings*, and also from *their* coming to the perception of worldly *beings*.

¹ Reading an-âyin gun, but this is uncertain.

² Reading *kîhar-tanû nîzah*; the last word is usually spelt *nîzak*, but occurs in § 58 in the same form as here.

³ Reading *nîvikân mank gûn*, but this is uncertain.

62. The learned high-priests who *were* founders (pâyînikânö) of the religion knew it (the evidence), and those portions of it *were* transmitted by them to the ancients which the successive realisers of it, for the ages before me (levînam), *have* possessed.

63. The deceivers¹ of the transmitters, who have existed *at* various times, even among those who are blessed², *have* remained a mass of knowledge for me, by *being* my reminder of the mature *and* proper duty of those truly wise (hû-kîragânîkö), through the directions issuable by even worldly decision, and of so many of which I have a remembrance³, for the writing of which *there would be* no end.

64. Then the manifest power of the fiend among us below, and the way provided by the creator for *his* becoming invisible *and his* impotence are clear; so also the full power of the creator of the army of angels, assuredly the procurers of success *in* the end, and⁴ the accomplishment all-powerfully—which is his own advantage—of the completely-happy progress, for ever, of all creations which are his creatures, are thereby visible *and* manifest; *and* many tokens and signs *thereof* are manifestly clear.

65. One is this, that the creator is *in* his own predestined (bagdâdakö) abode, and the fiend is

¹ The unorthodox, or those holding erroneous views regarding the traditions handed down by them.

² Reading âfrîniđö, which K 35 has converted into afgônêđö, 'casts,' by inverting the order of the two central characters.

³ M14 and J omit the words from 'through' to 'remembrance.' The author means that he has acquired much information on the subject even from the opinions of the unorthodox judiciously studied.

⁴ M14 has merely the words: 'and the completely-happy progress,' &c.

advancing *and has* rushed in, and his advancing is for the subjugation of the creation¹.

66. One, that the creatures of Aûhar-mazd are spiritual *and* also worldly, and that is no world of the fiend, but he gathers an evil spiritual state into the world; *and* as among so many the greed of success is *only* in one², so the triumph is manifest of the good spirits *and* worldly beings over the evil spirits.

67. One is this, that *his* defeat in the end is manifest from his contention and aggression (pêš-zadârîh); for the fiend is an aggressor *in* an unlawful struggle, and leaving the army of Aûhar-mazd—subsequently the lawful defender (lakhvâr-zadâr)—the fiend of violence is a cause of power among those wholly unrequiting the creator *in* the world³. 68. If, also, every time that he smites the creatures he is equally *and* lawfully beaten once again, it is assuredly evident therefrom that, when their beating *and* being beaten are *on* an equality together, *at* first he whose hand *was* foremost *was* the smiter, and the backward fighter was beaten; *but at* last that backward fighter is the smiter, and the foremost fighter becomes beaten⁴; for when he is

¹ K₃₅ has altered dakhshakö, 'token,' into dahisnö, 'creation,' by changing one letter, and M₁₄ and J have adopted the wrong reading.

² Reading kīgûn dên hâvandih kîr âz dên khadûkô. The drift of these two first reasons seems to be that the fiend, being an invader and outnumbered, must be vanquished in the end.

³ Reading zak-î zôr drûgô dên-î dâdâr barâ-atôgigânö-î stîs vahânö-î nîrûkô-hômandih. This phrase seems to have been generally misunderstood by copyists, as both M₁₄ and J have altered it into something like: 'when the violence of the fiend is in the hand of the creator, yet even if the motive of the army is so much power.'

⁴ M₁₄ and J omit this clause, from 'but' to 'beaten.'

beaten *in* the former combat, *there* is then a combat again, and his enemy is beaten.

69. One is this, that when the supply of weapons¹, the fighting, and the ability of the contenders are equal, the supply of weapons of him who is the beginner (*pêstâdâr*) has always sooner disappeared, and, *at* last, he is unarmed and his opponent remains armed; *and* an armed *man* is known *to be*² victorious over him *who is* unarmed, just as *one* fighting is triumphant over *one* not fighting³. 70. And a similitude of it, which is *derived* from the world, is even such as when each one of two furious *ones* (*âr dõ*) of equal strength, in a fight together, has an arrow, and each one is in fear of the other's possession of an arrow; *and* one of them alone shoots *his* arrow, and makes *it* reach *his* opponent; then he is without an arrow, and his opponent, fully mindful *of it*, has an arrow, and becomes fearless through possession of the arrow, his own intrepidity, *and* the lack of arrows and complete terror of that earlier shooter. 71. And as regards mighty deeds he is successful; *and* though *there be* as much strength for the earlier fighter a successful termination is undiscoverable *for him*; despoiled of possession *by* him who is later, *and* ruined in that which is all-powerful, *his* end *and* disappearance are undoubted, clear, *and* manifest⁴.

¹ The term *zênô afzâr* evidently refers here to the warrior's stock of arrows and other missiles which were to be expended in battle, so that it is analogous to the modern term 'ammunition.'

² *M14* has *yehevûnêd*, 'becomes,' instead of *dânôstõ*, 'known.'

³ *M14* and *J* omit these last four words.

⁴ The argument, both in this case and the preceding one, is that even when two combatants are equal in power and resources the hasty aggressor is likely to be beaten in the end, and, therefore,

72. One is this, that owing to the previous non-appearance of the fiend, the coming forward of sickness and death unto the creatures of the sacred beings *occurred* when the fiend rushed *in*, and he rendered the existence of men sickly; he also destroyed *and* put to death the progeny of animals. 73. Afterwards, through lawfully driving *him* away, sickness and death *come* in turn (bârikîhâ) unto the demons, *and* the healthiness¹ of the righteous *and* perfect life unto the creatures of the sacred beings, as its counterpart is the great healthiness *which* comes, more rightly rising, unto the creatures advised by the sacred beings, through united arrangement². 74. And, in the end, a worldly similitude of the sickness and grievous, complete death for the fiends³, and of the healthiness *and* intrinsic (benaf-sman-âigûnîh) life for the creatures of the sacred beings, is that which *occurs* when one of two litigants (ham-patkâr), prematurely revengeful, gives to *his* fellow-litigant an irritating poison, *and* himself eats wholesome flour before the later litigant gives a poison, as an antidote, to the earlier litigant, *and* himself eats the poison-subduing flour; after which he is cured *by* the poison, and his enemy is dead through the poison of the later flour⁴.

the inferiority of the fiend is still more likely to lead to his final defeat.

¹ M14 begins a fresh argument here, owing to some misunderstanding of the meaning of the sentence.

² That is, the advantage of driving away the fiend in this life is a counterpart of the blessings attained at the resurrection.

³ The word drûgânö, 'fiends,' is omitted in K35, but is evidently necessary to complete the sentence.

⁴ This appears to be a description of ordeal by poison and the two usual modes of evading its operation. The hasty evader relies upon deceitfully substituting a wholesome powder for the

75. One is this, that Aûharmazd, the creator, is a manager with omniscient wisdom, *and* the contention of the fiend of scornful looks (tar nigtrîsn) is through lust of defilement; of united power is the management of that creator, as existing with (ham-zîk)¹ all the vigilance in the wisdom which is in everything; and that united power is the strength of the management of heaven. 76. And of much power is the contention of the fiend, as *his* manifold changing of will—which is hostile to the will of even his own creatures, and is through the weakness and exhausted² strength of an evil nature—is the contending power which forms his visible strength³.

77. One is this, that is, on account of the fiend's contending ill-advisedly, however strongly the contest is adapted for the damage of his own fiendishness, and regret and bad consequences therefrom are perceptible. 78. Such as the very paralyzing⁴ affliction which *was* appointed (nîhâdô) by him

poison he has to take; while the more cautious evader trusts to recognising his adversary's poison by its taste, and selecting another poison as an antidote for both to take, so that the hasty evader suffers through his own deceit in not taking the first poison. Similarly, the fiend is supposed to suffer in the end from the death and destruction which he was the first to introduce into the world.

¹ By omitting a phrase M14 and J have: 'and the management of the fiend of scornful looks is as *it were* existing with,' &c.

² This is little more than a guess at the meaning of a word which can be read vashakîdô (compare Pers. *gas* and *kasîdan*). The whole sentence is rather uncertain.

³ The argument is that this unstable power of the fiend cannot permanently stand against the consolidated strength of the creator.

⁴ Adopting J's reading samakgûntar, but K35 has vasmakgûntar, which may be 'very troublesome,' and M14 has samkîntar, probably for sahmîntar, 'very terrible.'

for the creatures of the world in putting the living to death, which he ordered with violence and the hope that it *would* be *his* greatest triumph. 79. Even that is what is so self-damaging to the same fiend that, when he puts to death him who is wicked, and he who is wicked, who is performing what is desirable for him (the fiend)—that performance of what is desirable *being* the practice of sin—is useless *and* goes thither where he is penitent of that seduction, the spirit¹ of the owner (shah) of the sin, whose soul is wicked², is righteous, in whose worldly body exist the fetters of pain and darkness; and owing to the unfettering of *its* hands *from* that pain it (the spirit) is far *away*, and goes to heaven, which is the most fortified of fortresses. 80. Fearlessly it fights for it, even as the guardian spirit of Yim the splendid³ kept away all trouble (vêsam), the guardian spirit of Frêdûn kept away even those active in vexing⁴, *and* other guardian spirits of those passed *away* are enumerated as *engaged* in the defeat of many fiends.

¹ That is, the guardian spirit (see Chap. II, 5) which is not rendered wicked by the sin of the soul.

² The phrase mûn rûbân-î zak darvand is ambiguous, as it might mean 'which is the soul of that wicked one,' but this is not reconcileable with the context.

³ See Chap. II, 10. Yim-î shêdô is the Yimô khshaêtô of Vend. II, 43, 45, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmâh. The legends here referred to are mentioned in Fravardîn Yt. 130-138, where the guardian spirit of Yima is said to withstand the misfortune brought on by the demons, while that of Thraêtaona (Frêdûn) withstands various diseases, and those of other heroes withstand various other evils and demons.

⁴ Reading pavan bêsh-ik kardârân, but for *ik* we ought probably to read *az*, so as to make the phrase correspond to the Av. azi-karstahê d'baêshanghô of Fravardîn Yt. 131.

81. One is this, that the most grievous severance that is owing to him (the fiend)¹ is the production of the mortality of the creatures, in which the afflicting (*nizgûn*) demon *Astô-vidâd*² is the head of the many *Mâznikân demons*³. 82. And the propitious creator's developers *were* thus unprovoked (*anârgônd*) when the only person, who is called *Gâyômarđ*⁴, *was* destroyed by him, and came back to the world *as* a man and a woman whose names were *Marhayâ and Marhîyôih*⁵; and the propagation *and* connection of races *were* through their next-of-kin marriage of a sister⁶. 83. The unlucky⁷ fiend, while he

¹ Instead of *zîs madam*, 'that is owing to him,' we ought probably to read *zîs bar*, 'that is his production;' the *Huz. madam*, which is the proper equivalent of the preposition *bar*, 'on, according to,' being wrongly used for the noun *bar*, 'produce.'

² See § 44.

³ The *Mâzainya daêva* of the Avesta (see § 44, note).

⁴ The sole-created, or primeval, man from whom the whole human race is said to have sprung (see Chap. II, 10, Bd. III, 14, 17, 19-23, XV, 1, 31).

⁵ The progenitors of the undeformed human race, who are said to have grown up, in the manner of a plant, from the seed of the dead *Gâyômarđ* (see Bd. XV, 2-5). Their names are derived from *Av. mashya mashyôih*, 'the man and woman,' but the latter form is no longer extant in the Avesta. From *Av. mashya* we have the *Mashya* of Bd. XV, 6, and the *Mâshya* of Bd. XV, 11, 19, 20, 30. From its dialectical variant *martiya* in ancient Pers., which would be *marethya* in the Avesta (compare *Av. mareta*, *Pers. mard*), we have the *Marhayâ* of our text. And by transposition of the letters *rt=reth=rha* in these latter forms, we have the *Matrô* of Bd. XV, 2 and the *Maharîh* or *Maharyâ* of Bd. XV, 22, note. Other forms of these names also occur (see Chaps. LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXXVII, 4).

⁶ *M14* has 'of brother and sister,' but the insertion of the extra word is unnecessary. Regarding *khvêtudâd*, or next-of-kin marriage, see Chap. LXV.

⁷ Reading *lâ-khâgastô*; the fiend is certainly 'unlucky' here,

increased offspring and fortune for them through death, so uplifted *his* voice in *their* presence, about the death of the living *ones* of their offspring and lineage, that *together* with the unmeasured destructiveness of the deadly evil spirit, and the unjust contention of his through death and the conveyer of death¹, the sting also of birth *was* owing to death. 84. The repetitions of the cry *were* many, so that the issue (bār) of thousands and thousands of myriads from those two persons, and the multitude passed *away*, from a number *which* is limited and a counterpart (aêdûnõih) of the living people in the world, are apparent; and for the annihilation of many fiends, through death, the propitiousness of the contending power of the creator is clear *and* manifest.

85. One is this, that the most steadfast quality of the demon himself is darkness, the evil of which is so complete that they shall call the demons also those of a gloomy race. 86. *But* such is the power in the arms *and* resources of the angels, that even the first gloomy darkness in the world is perpetually subdued by the one power really originating with the sun *and* suitable *thereto*, *and* the world is illuminated².

87. One is this, that the most mischievous weapon of the demons is the habit of self-deception which,

as by introducing death into the world he merely increases the number of beings who pass into the other world to join his opponents in the end; but the text probably means that he is 'inauspicious' and wishes to bring misfortune on mankind.

¹ Astô-vîdâd (see § 81).

² The argument is that, as the sun is able to subdue darkness, the most constant quality of the fiend, every day, it is probable that the fiend himself will be entirely subdued in the end.

on account of rendering the soul wicked thereby, seemed to them as the greatest triumph for themselves, *and* a complete disaster for the angels. 88. In the great glory of the pure, true religion of the sacred beings is as much strength as is adapted to the full power of the lawlessness and much opposition of falsehood, *and* also to the fully accurate (*arsîdö*) speaking which is in itself an evidence of the true speaking of every proper truth; and no truth whatever is perverted by it. 89. And the false sayings are many, and good sayings—*their* opponents through good statement—do not escape from their imperfect truth¹; since a similitude of them is that which *occurs* when, concerning that which is white-coloured, the whole of the truthful speak about *its* white colour, *but as to* the liars there are *some* who *speak of* its black colour, some of *its* mud colour, some of *its* blue colour, some of *its* bran² colour, some of *its* red colour, and some of *its* yellow colour. 90. And every single statement of each of the truthful is as much evidence, about those several colours of those who are liars, as even the compiled sayings of the Abraham of the Christians³, which are the word of *him* who is also called their Messiah⁴, about the

¹ Assuming that *apûrâstîh* stands for *apûr râstîh*; it may, however, be intended for *avî-râstîh*, 'want of truth.' The meaning is that even true statements become perverted by inaccurate speakers.

² Perhaps *sapûsag*, 'bran,' may have originally been *sapzag*, 'green.'

³ Written *Abrêhâm-î Tarsâkîgân*.

⁴ The letter *s* in *Masîkhâ* is here written like *âî*, but the word is correctly written in § 91.

Son of the *Supreme* Being¹; thus, they recount that the Son, who is not less than the Father, is himself He, the Being whom they consider undying. 91. One falsehood they tell about the same Messiah is that he died, and one falsehood they tell is that he did not die; it is a falsehood for those who say he did not die, *and* for those who say he did die; wherefore did he not die, when *he is* not dead? *and* wherefore is it said he did not die, when he is mentioned as dead²? 92. Even the compilation itself is an opponent to its own words, for, though it said *he* is dead, it spoke unto *one* not dead; and though *he* is not dead, it spoke unto *one* dead. 93. The proper office (*gâs*) of a compiler and mutilator³—through whose complete attainments the demons of like power as to the force of truth are strengthened, *and* the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers is itself dissipated and rendered useless for itself—is a habit (*dâdō*) growing with

¹ The phrase is *barmanō-î dâd*, literally 'son of the created one,' unless we assume that *dâd* is taken as a name of God. It is, however, quite conceivable that a priest would be reluctant to admit that a strange god could be anything better than a created being. That *dâd* is here used as a noun, and not with the meaning of 'gift' or 'law,' appears from the subsequent phrase *dâdō-î amîrâkō yakhsenund*, 'the created *one* whom they consider undying.'

² Owing to the frequent repetitions of the same words in these phrases they are specially liable to corruption by copyists, but as they stand in K₃₅ they can hardly be translated otherwise than as questions. M₁₄ and J have an altered text which may be translated as follows:—'for whomever he did not die, when dead, *he is* as dead; for whomever it is said he died, *he is so* when he is mentioned as dead;' but this seems no improvement of the text.

³ Referring to those who compile commentaries and mutilate texts to suit their own views.

the fiend; and, as he is seen *to be* victorious who overturns reliance on changeableness and similar powers, the final disruption of forces is a disruption of peculiarities (*khûdîh vishôpisnô*)¹.

94. One is this, that is, even that prodigious devastation *of* which it is declared that it happens through the rain of Malkôs², when, through snow, immoderate cold, *and* the unproductiveness of the world, most mortals die; *and* even the *things* attainable by mortals are *attended* with threatenings of scarcity. 95. Afterwards—*as* among the all-wise, preconcerted remedies (*pês kârîh*) of the beneficent spirit³ such a remedy *was* established (and *nihâd kâr*) that *there is* one of the species of lands, that is called 'the enclosure formed by

¹ The argument is that even heterodoxy, 'the most mischievous weapon' of the fiend (see § 87), must fail in the end, because, like other revolutions, it relies on constant change, which implies want of permanency.

² *Malkôsânô*, 'of Malkôs,' is a denominative adjective derived from Chald. מִלְקֹס 'autumnal rain.' The deluging rain of Malkôs is supposed to usher in the dreadful winter foretold to Yima in Vend. II, 46-56, when all, or nearly all, living creatures were to perish, a truly glacial epoch. In a Persian paraphrase of the Bahman Yast (see Byt. Introd. p. lix) this period of Malkôs is described as follows:—'As three hundred years have elapsed from the time of Hûshêzar (Byt. III, 44-49), the period of Malkôs comes on; and the winter of Malkôs is such that, owing to the cold and snow which occur, out of a myriad of men in the world only one will remain, and the trees and shrubs all become withered, and the quadrupeds, whether carrying, walking, leaping, or grazing, will all utterly die. Then, by command of God, they will come from the enclosure formed by Yim, and the men and quadrupeds from that place spread over Irân, and make the world populous a second time, and it is the beginning of the millennium of Hûshêzar(-mâh).'

³ The formation of the enclosure was ordered, as a precaution, by Aûharmazd (see Vend. II, 61-92).

Yim¹, through which, by orders issued by Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, the son of Vivangha², the world is again filled—men of the best races, animals of good breeds, the loftiest trees, *and* most savoury (kharegistânö) foods, *in* that manner came back miraculously *for* the restoration of the world; which new men are *substituted* for the former created beings, which is an upraising of the dead³. 96. Likewise from that miracle is manifested the non-attainment of the evil spirit to the universal control of the glory of the creator for every purpose.

97. One is this, that—when the heterodox (dûs-dînô) Dahâk⁴, on whom most powerful demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged⁵, escapes from the fetters of Frêdûn, and, through witchcraft, remains a demon even to the demons⁶ *and*

¹ Reading Yim-kard var, but these words are corrupted in three different ways in the three MSS. consulted. This enclosure is said to have been in the middle of Pârs in Bd. XXIX, 14.

² Av. Vivanghau (see Bd. XXXI, 2).

³ That is, a type of the resurrection.

⁴ The Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' slain by Thraêtaona. In later times he was converted into a usurping king, or dynasty, the Dha'h'hâk of the Shâhnâmah, who conquered Yim (Jamshêd) and, after a reign of a thousand years, was defeated by Frêdûn (Thraêtaona) and fettered under Mount Dimâvand; whence he is to escape during the millennium of Hûshêzar-mâh to devastate the world, till he is finally slain by the hero Keresâsp, who is revived for the purpose (see Bd. XXIX, 8, 9, XXXI, 6, Byt. III, 56-61).

⁵ That is, attached to the shoulders like wings; referring to the serpents said to have grown from the shoulders of Dahâk.

⁶ M₁₄ alters shêdân, 'demons,' into gêhân, 'world,' so as to read 'through the demon of witchcraft remains a destroyer unto the world.' The alteration in the Pahlavi text is small, but seems unnecessary.

a destroyer—a mighty man *who* is roused¹ up beforehand from the dead, *and* is called Keresâsp the Sâmân², crushes that fiendishness with a club *consisting* of a cypress tree, *and* brings that Dahâk through wholesome fear to the just law of the sacred beings³.

98. One is this, that these, which are *distinct* from those born *and* the men who have laboured together, Astô-vidâd⁴ *has* not obtained, nor even *will* obtain, for death; and through the power of immortals, and the action of the good discourses (hû-sakhunagânih)⁵, they urge on to the sacred beings *those* who are inquiring (kâv-hômand), even to the immortality which is the renovation of the other creatures. 99. One, *which is* where the mingled conflict of the meeting of *good and evil occurs*⁶, is the glorious good-yielding *one* of the creator which is guarded by purity, so that the fiend *has* not attained to injuring *it*, since it is pronounced *to be* the uninjured ox which is called Hadhayâs⁷. 100. Also the long life which

¹ Reading angêzôî-aitô, instead of the unintelligible angîdî-aitô.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Dahâk and all other heinous offenders are said to undergo a special punishment for three nights at the resurrection, and are then finally purified by passing through molten metal like the rest of mankind (see Bd. XXX, 16, 20).

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ Perhaps referring to the liturgical recitations.

⁶ In the atmosphere apparently (see Bd. I, 4).

⁷ Written Hadhayâm here, but Hadhayâs in § 119, Chaps. XLVIII, 34, XC, 4, and Hadhayôš or Hadhayâvs in Bd. XIX, 13, XXX, 25, though always in Pâzand. It is also called Sarsaok, or Srisaok, in Bd. XV, 27, XVII, 4, XIX, 13, always in Pâzand, and this name is converted into Pahl. Srûvô in Zs. XI, 10.

is through its all-controlling power¹ until they cause the end to occur, and the devourers of fires are subdued by it—*besides* the whole strength of the unboasting (akûm) creatures of the beneficent spirit, after they live even without eating²—is because of the Hôm that is white³ and the promoter (frâshm) of perfect glory, which possesses the wholesomeness of the elixir of immortality, and through it the living become ever-living. 101. And also as many more specially pure glorious *ones* whose enumeration *would* be tedious⁴.

102. One is this, that the struggle of the evil *one* and the demons *with* the creatures is not precisely the existence of *various* kinds of contest, but

It is said to be an ox which never dies till it is slaughtered at the resurrection, so that its fat may form one of the ingredients of the elixir of immortality which all men have then to taste; it is also said that mankind, in ancient times, crossed the ocean on its back, when going to settle in the other regions of the earth. From what is stated in the text it may be supposed to be some form of cloud myth, but it is not mentioned in the extant portion of the Avesta, unless 'the ox Hadhayôš' be taken as a corruption of gâus hudhau, 'the well-yielding ox,' and Sarsaok as connected with Pers. srišk, 'a drop,' and referring to showers of rain; but this is very uncertain.

¹ The power of the white Hôm mentioned below.

² As, it is said, they will do for ten years before Sôshâns, the last apostle, appears to prepare for the resurrection (see Chap. XXXV, 3, Bd. XXX, 3).

³ A tree said to grow in the ocean, the juice of which is the other ingredient of the elixir of immortality; it is also called Gôkarn, or Gôkarđ, Av. gaokerena, and is guarded by ten enormous fish (see Bd. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

⁴ The existence of such immortal creatures, said to be intended for special use at the resurrection, is here taken as a proof of the reality of the resurrection itself. Whether the seven immortals described in Chap. XC are to be included among them is uncertain.

by natural operation and through desire of deceit¹. 103. And the demon of slander (spazg), whose nature it is to make the indignation (zôhar) of the creatures pour out, one upon the other, about nothing, as he does not succeed in making *it* pour out among the righteous², he makes the wicked even pour *it* out upon the wicked; *and* as he does not succeed even in making *it* pour out among the wicked, he makes a demon pour *it* out upon a demon. 104. The impetuous assailant, Wrath (Aeshm), as he does not succeed in causing strife *among* the righteous, flings discord *and* strife amid the wicked; *and* when he does not succeed *as* to the strife even of the wicked, he makes the demons *and* fiends fight together. 105. So also the demon of greediness (âzö), when he does not attain, in devouring, to that of the good, mounts³ by his own nature unto devouring that of the demons. 106. So also the deadly Astô-vidâd⁴ is ever an antagonistic operator; when *there* is no righteous *one* who is mortal, nor any creatures in the world, the wicked dying *one* (mîrâk) rides to the fiends through a death which is an antagonism of himself⁵.

¹ That is, the demons do not come into personal conflict with material creatures, but are supposed to influence their evil passions and to pervert the original laws of nature.

² M14 omits the passage from this word to the same word in § 104.

³ The word sôbârêdö, 'rides, mounts,' both here and in § 106, is possibly only a miswriting of the very similar word dûbârêdö, 'runs, rushes.' Several words in this sentence are accidentally omitted in M14.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ As it is uncertain whether the 'dying one' is a human being or the demon himself, it is doubtful which of them is here supposed to commit suicide. M14 and J have merely: 'nor even among the

107. The means of the united forces¹ are means such as the wise and the high-priests *have* proclaimed, that is, at the time of the renovation of the universe² *being* nigh, when completion *has* come to generation—those who *were* provided *being* born—and after they occasion freedom from generation (azerkhûnisnîh), they cause men *and* animals to exist, though passed *away and* dead. 108. All men, righteous and wicked, who continue in the world *become* immortal, the men are righteous whom Astôvidâd does not obtain for death by evil noosing (dûs-vadisnô)³ from behind, and *who have* completely attained to the rules of the sacred beings (yang-î yazdân); *and* the soul of the wicked, which is repentant of deceit, turns back upon the demons and fiends themselves all that previous violence of destruction and perversion, contention and blinding⁴ which is natural to a demon, and they fight, and strike, and tear, and cause to tear, and destroy among themselves (benafsman va/

creatures of the sacred beings those which are an antagonism of himself;’ apparently connecting this section with the next. This final argument is that, as the demons by their very nature must injure their friends if they fail with their enemies, they contain within themselves the source of their own final destruction. In other words: ‘if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end’ (Mark iii. 26).

¹ The army of angels of §§ 58, 64. The author, having exhausted his arguments in favour of the final triumph of the good creation, now returns to his description of the issue of the contest, which he was about to commence in § 64.

² M₁₄ and J omit the following words as far as ‘provided.’

³ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁴ Or, perhaps, ‘concealment,’ as there is some doubt whether a ûbênîdârîh means ‘making unseeing, or making unseen.’

benefitsman) so long as they are in hell and numerous.

109. The wicked who are penitent become courageous anew as to the demon who perverts, the living occasion strength¹, *and* the retribution of the hellish existence of the wicked is completed, because the increase of sins², owing to the sin which they committed, ceases. 110. They are let out from hell, though their sins are thus accumulated by the demons; they have also prepared³ the spirit of sin by the three days *in* molten metal⁴, which drives away tears, as its name is owing to the lessening of tears⁵, which is all⁶ in that which *occurs* when all the doers of actions for the demon of falsehood⁷ pass through that preparation. 111. And *he* who, *for* three days, thus bathes (vushakêdô) his sins which are owing to the fiend, and *has* destroyed the filth (*kakhû*) of the accumulated sins, is like *those who* have passed off *and* turned over a burden.

112. And the impotence of sin is owing to the destroyer *of* the fiend by the perception of light,

¹ That is, the wicked who are still living, being penitent, reinforce the host of the righteous.

² Referring probably to the 'growth of sin' mentioned in Chaps. XI, 2, XII, 5.

³ That is, 'purified.'

⁴ All men are said to be purified, at the time of the resurrection, by passing through melted metal, which seems like warm milk to the righteous, but is a final torment to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 12, 13, Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

⁵ This would seem to allude to some Avesta name of this molten metal, which is no longer extant.

⁶ We should probably read hamâi, 'ever,' instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁷ Reading zûr, but it may be zôr, 'violence.'

who was their creator¹; they (men) all see all, they all forgive, and they all are powerful as regards all *things* for the creator. 113. And, moreover, after the three days, when they occur, all the creatures of the good creator are purified *and* pure by the perfect washing passed through, by the most amazing preparation ordained (bakhtö), *and* by the most complete account they render complete. 114. And they are triumphant *over* the fiend through their own weapons, through their own driving away *of* their own littleness (kâsvîdârih), and the glory of the creator and that of the angels; and since he becomes exhausted in resources (dên kâr) they make *him* become extinct.

115. *But* previously² they are attacked, and dispersed, and subdued, and this even fully painfully and with complete experience; and they aid, through backward goodness, in the antagonism of means which are separated divergently, through scattered resources and subdued strength, like the life from the body of worldly mortals, and this, moreover, confusedly, uselessly, and unmovingly.

116. *But* the abode³ for the essential material existence (sti-î kiharikö), about which *there* is a seeking for interment⁴, is not powerless, and on enquiring the wishes of such numbers⁵ they have

¹ That is, the destroyer of the fiend was the creator of the men mentioned in § 108. The reading sinâsnö, 'perception,' is uncertain; perhaps we ought to read 'in the regions (dîvâgânö) of light.'

² That is, before the purification in molten metal.

³ The 'body,' apparently, but this section is by no means clear.

⁴ This must be on the part of the fiend, as burial is unlawful.

⁵ Perhaps the meaning is that the fiend is at length overcome by the constantly accumulating numbers of the penitent wicked.

cast *him* out; and no share whatever, *nor* fragment of a share, of fiendishness, *nor* even so much as some morsel of unpardonableness sent by fiendishness, remains in this light.

117. Those who are righteous, intelligent through their own glory of religion—which is a spirit¹ in the form of light—are scattered (parvandag-aítö) equally around the sky of skies, when from every single side of it *there* arises, for the sake of margin, three *times* as much *space* as the earth created by Aûharmazd, in the preparation of the creatures which *were* created by him. 118. Through his own will he again constructs the bodies of the evil creation, unlaboriously, easily, and full-gloriously, though their construction is even from the clay of Aûshdâstâr², and their moisture is from the purified water of Arekdisûr³ the undefiled. 119. And from that which is a good protector *through* him, and which is also connected *with*

¹ The handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the departed soul, and whose form is an embodiment of its own deeds and religion (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XLIV, 20). Or, perhaps, the angel of religion (Dîn) itself, which is revered for its radiance and glory in Dîn Yt. 4.

² A mythical mountain (see Chap. XXX, 2).

³ The mythical source of pure water which is said to flow from Mount Albûrz into Lake Urvis on the summit of Mount Hûgar, and thence to Mount Aûsîndôm in the wide-formed ocean, whence it partly flows into the ocean, and partly rains upon the earth (see Bd. XIII, 1, 3-5). Much the same account of it is given in Chap. XCII, 5, only the lake is said to be on the summit of Mount Aûsîndôm. It is the Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., and the Pahl. form Arekdisûr = Aregdisûr may be explained as a transposition of Aredgisûr, an ordinary mispronunciation of Ardvî sûra. Modern Parsis, who consider the Pahl. k as silent (or merely a soft aspirate) after a vowel, would pronounce Aredvisûr.

him, even from the Hadhayās ox¹, is the strength of everlasting welfare (vêhgarīh) and immortality; and the living are again produced for the body, they have immortal life, and they become hungerless and thirstless, undecaying and undying, undistressed and undiseased, ever-living and ever-beneficial.

120. After the renovation of the universe there is no demon, because *there* is no deceit; and no fiend, because there is no falsity; *there* is no evil spirit (angraminô), because there is no destruction; *there* is no hell, because there is no wickedness; *there* is no strife, because there is no anger; *there* is no hatred, because there is no ill-temper (dazīh); *there* is no pain, because there is no disease.

121. *There* is also no Dahâk², because there is no fear; *there* is no want, because there is no greediness; *there* is no shame, because there is no deformity; *there* is no falsehood³, because there is no desire of falsehood; *there* is no heterodoxy, because there are no false statements; and *there* is no tardiness, because *it speaks* of a dilatory (sustö) race in that which is said thus: 'They are all those of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, a race of all evils to be made to tear by the evil spirit.'

122. And on his (the demon's) disappearance every evil has disappeared, on the disappearance of evil every good is perfected, and in the time of complete goodness it is not possible to occasion (andâkhtanö) any pain or distress whatever, by any means, to any creature. 123. Those who are present (nunak) sufferers⁴, when *there* is a blow of

¹ See § 99.

² See § 97.

³ M14 and J omit what follows, as far as 'heterodoxy.'

⁴ Literally 'attainers to endurance.'

a fist on the body, or the point of a nail (têkh bûrâk) is driven into a limb, are pained on account of the combination (ham-dâdakh) of a different nature for the purposes of the fiend in the body. 124. *But* at that time of no complication (ahamyâkhtih), when a limb is struck upon a limb, or even such a *thing* as a knife, or sword, or club, or stone, or arrow reaches the body, *there* is no pain or discomfort whatever corresponding to that present pain. 125. And at that time one consideration (vusîd-aê) occurs, for now the pain from that beating *and* striking is always owing to that different nature, and on account of *their being* suitable to it, but at that time everything *being* of like nature and like formation *there* is never *any* distress.

126. And in that most happy time they let the sun, moon, and luminaries exist, but *there* is no need for a return of the day and a removal of *its going* forth (frâshm)¹, for the world is a dispenser (vakhtâr) of all light, and all creatures, too, are brilliant; those luminaries also become as it were perfectly splendid *for* them. 127. And every creature, too, is of like will and like power; whichever *were* mortals, unenvious of the welfare of all creatures, are alike joyous, and that *share* of their position and pleasure rejoices *them* which has come to them from the glory of all *the existences and capabilities* of him, the all-good, who is aware of all of everything through his own perfect persistence *and* complete resources.

128. And he allots, to the doers of good works

¹ The 'going forth' of the day or the sun means its disappearance or going away, and is an Avesta phrase. The sun is supposed to be 'forth' when it is absent, not when it appears.

and the suitable ranks, the power of a judge (*dadakō*), wealthiness, goodness, and the directorship (*radīh*) of *what* is intended. 129. *He* is the designer of *what* is intended, as it is said about his creatures and capability that fire is producing wind, fire is producing water, and fire is producing earth; wind is producing fire, wind is producing water, and wind is producing earth; water is producing fire, water is producing wind, and water is producing earth; earth is producing fire, earth is producing wind, and earth is producing water. 130. The spirit is both the cause of spirit and the cause of matter (*stīs*); and the cause of matter, too, is also the cause of spirit, through that perpetual capability.

131. And, moreover, all the angels, the souls, and the guardian spirits are attending to the wishes of the glory of the creator and the commands of the creator, without trouble *and* fully rejoicing, in likeness unto the forms of seas, rivers, mountains, trees, and waters¹; and they have comforted and decorated the creation. 132. And the angels, souls, and guardian spirits, themselves also the constituted spirits of a former contact with life, are thereby pleased *and* rejoiced; eternal *and* thoroughly prepared they are naturalised in that complete joy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-seventh question and reply, that which you ask is thus: The measure that they

¹ All objects being supposed to be represented by guardian spirits in the other world.

measure good works *with being* revealed¹, how is it then *when* there is more, or not, done by us?

2. The reply is this, that every thought, word, and deed whose result is joy, happiness, and commendable recompense—when a happy result is obtainable, and the exuberance (afzûnö) of thought, word, and deed is important—is well-thought, well-said, and well-done². 3. And for him the result of whose wish for good works is conclusively joy and exaltation of soul—which are his attainment of recompense from the constantly-beneficial space³, the immortal *and* unlimited, which shall never perish—there is no measure of the multitude of good works. 4. For every one by whom many are performed, and *who* engages in still more, appropriates the result more fully, and is more worthy; *but* it is not obtained for the completion of that which is a *definite* measure, therefore he does not obtain still more, and it is not necessary *he should*; and it is, moreover, not obtained even for the completion of a limit of unlimitedness⁴.

¹ They are balanced against the sins committed (see Chaps. XIII, 2-4, XXIV, 5, 6); if the good works exceed the sins by a very small quantity the soul is supposed to go to the ordinary heaven (vahištô), but if by a quantity sufficient to balance one unatonable sin it goes to the best existence, or supreme heaven (garôdmânô, see Sls. VI, 3, 4). M14 and J have merely: 'The measure for good works *being* revealed.'

² The three characteristics of good works.

³ See Chaps. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22.

⁴ The good works in excess of the quantity necessary for admitting the soul into the supreme heaven cannot affect the destination of the soul, but they add to its future enjoyment (see Chap. VIII, 4), and no limit can be assigned to the quantity that can be thus absorbed.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *As to* the thirty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What are the reason and cause of tying *on* the *sacred thread-girdle* (kūstīkō)¹ which, when they shall tie *it* on is said *to be* so greatly valuable, and when they shall not tie *it* the sin is so grievous?

2. The reply is this, that the all-good, most spiritual of spirits, and most ruling of rulers is the creator, and there is no need of troubles for men of the poor as to any wealth *or* anything, for all are his own. 3. And through his will *as* ruler, and all-powerful, he demands this of men, to remain properly

¹ The Kūstīk (Pers. kustī) consists of a string, about the size of a stay-lace, which is first passed twice round the waist very loosely, over the sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2), and tied in front with a loose double knot (right-handed and left-handed), and the long ends are then passed a third time round the waist and tied again behind with a similar double knot. This string contains six strands, each consisting of twelve very fine, white, woollen threads twisted together, or seventy-two threads in all. Near each end the six strands are braided together, instead of being twisted, and for the last inch they are braided into three separate string-ends of two strands each; these string-ends, therefore, contain twenty-four threads each, and form a kind of fringed end to the string. This fringe is a sort of remembrancer, as its six strands are supposed to symbolize the six Gāhanbārs or season-festivals, the twelve threads in each strand symbolize the twelve months, the twenty-four threads in each string-end symbolize the twenty-four kardaks or sections of the Visparad, and the seventy-two threads in the whole string symbolize the seventy-two hās or chapters of the Yasna. The girdle has to be re-tied every time the hands have been washed, which, in order to comply with the ceremonial laws, occurs many times in the day; and each time it has to be done with ceremony and a particular formula of prayer (see § 27).

skirted¹ as a true servant not even bound—which is due to that service, and also the indication of a servant—as is seen *and* clearly declared in the ever-fixed (hamâi-dâdö) religion and belief.

4. Formerly men paid homage through the will and worship, as *it were* more effectually, more essentially, *and* more suitably for the discreet; and every day *spent* in worship offered and homage paid they account as *of* the greatest use, particularly for observing the world, and understanding *its* character.

5. And *as to him* of whose offering of homage no worldly advantage whatever is apparent—as fruit is apparent from trees, flavour from foods, fragrance from aromatic herbs, tint (bâm) from colours, the good quality of spears from the forest, health from the patient (môlvarakân), and decision from words—but, audibly speaking, *his* head is lowered in sign of humility—as though the head, which is uppermost in the body and in the most pre-eminent *position*, and is lowered as far even as the sole of the foot, which is lowermost in the body, salutes² *and* is placed on the ground in thought about worship *and* desire of paying homage—and the appearance which exists as regards himself through *that* lowliest (kî-hastö) servitude is *in accordance* with that which is apparent from trees, food, and the many other worldly advantages *before* recited—whoever *has* offered homage and such advantageous (vêsisnakö) appearance

¹ That is, fully clad, as going about uncovered is a sin (see Chap. XL, 4). On occasions of ceremony, and for the purpose of showing extraordinary respect, the Parsis wear an extra long-skirted robe.

² Reading *drûdöêd*, but the orthography is unusual and the word, therefore, uncertain.

is manifest—even then that sign of humility *and* servitude is *what* great multitudes consider the offering of homage of a man more essential for hypocrisy (shêdö)¹.

6. *But* owing to that which *happens* when they plant a tree in the name of a sacred being² and eat the produce, and practise other worldly labour of worldly advantage, owing also to work of this kind through the doing of which they preserve all the growing *crops* of the whole world, and through tillage and multitudinous cultivated plots (khûstakîhâ) *it* is manifest that they should meditate inwardly (dên mînyên)³. 7. A token *and* sign of worship is of great use, and a great assistance (bangîsnö) therein is this belt (band), which is called the Kûstik, that is tied on the middle of the body.

8. The reasons of the assistance are numerous; and its first assistance is this, that *as to* him who—*as* a worshipper of the sacred beings, owing to the undeceitful (akadbâ) religion whose indication is sagaciously propitiating with the *purifying* cup⁴—wears upon the body that spiritual, customary, and

¹ The author is here adopting his most involved style of writing, which, in the original Pahlavi, is often hardly intelligible, and particularly apt to be misunderstood; but the object of this section seems to be to deprecate the Muhammadan practice of frequent prostrations during prayer, which are in marked contrast to the slight obeisances made by the Parsis.

² Whether yêdatô means 'an angel,' or 'God,' is here uncertain.

³ The argument is that the growth of plants is so obviously occasioned by some unseen power that it naturally leads to meditation, and then to prayer.

⁴ The words dânisnikö levatman-tâstik-shnâyîn seem to refer to the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification, described in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV), which is a rite eminently characteristic of *Mazda*-worship.

doctrinal indication of the sacred beings with a wisdom which is truly religion, *his* steadfastness and religious service of the sacred beings are audibly spoken thereby; even for the religious *it* is commanded, because *it* is an assisting motive of beneficial high-priests and such-like submitters *to* the commands of the religion of the sacred beings.

9. One is this, that, as the lowliest servant and greatest lord are steadily agreed, and *it is* beneficial¹ when they (the servants) wear a belt upon the body *as* a sign of service—because *it* is not the custom to grant that little at any time without guardianship—the lapse of which service is also not a beneficial lapse, then those unbound are without a token of the lord's service.

10. One is this, that it is commanded in revelation to keep thought, word, and deed confined from sin by a belt, and just like a servant; for the sake of confinement of sins from purity of thought, whose dwelling is the heart, *one* is to wear the same belt, which is the token of a servant, *on* the middle of the body and before the heart; and the periodical (han-gâmîkânö) sight of the token and sign of confined sins, and of the constant reminder for *one's* own mind, is the necessity of wearing *it* as a belt which is very restraining from the sin in thought, word, and deed that is manifest even in experience; which wearing of the same belt is as a reason and cause of much remembrance of much sin, that in the same way is therefore a restraint of it.

11. One is this, that the ancients acquainted with religion *have* communicated these tidings (srôbbö)

¹ Reading spenâk, but it may be sazôák, 'seemly.'

unto our ancestors *and* to us :—‘ When the destroyer came upon the creatures, the demons and witches (parîkō) especially rushed up in the earth and atmosphere, and even to *just* below the position of the stars; and they saw multitudes of luminaries, and also the barricade *and* rampart¹ of the glory of the religion, and the girdle (parvand)² of the wishes *and* good works of all, when³ it is arrayed like a brilliant *thread-girdle* (kûstîk), and all its luminaries are girded (parvastō) by the girdle as the girdle of the omniscient wisdom has girded the all-intelligent angels.’ 12. That great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts, became as beautiful and far-adorning as is stated in the liturgy (mânsar) thus: ‘ The star-studded girdle (ayivyahângânō) of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers⁴.’ 13. All the demons and fiends *were* terrified by the great glory of the religion, *and it is* said that, by the recital, practice, *and* promulgation of the whole routine of the enlightened religion, all those fiends are subdued, *and* the renovation of *the universe* is produced by the will of the patron spirits (ahvân). 14. Likewise, on account of that terror, none of the demons and fiends, who are the mightiest of the demons, rushed upon the creatures of that uppermost third *of the sky*⁵, who are in purity and inde-

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 47.

² It is not certain that parvand signifies ‘a girdle,’ or that parvastanō means ‘to gird,’ but they seem to be used in that sense here. The former word translates Av. paurlvanîm, ‘leading the Pleiades’ (Haug’s Essays, p. 182), in Yas. IX, 81, an epithet applied to the belt of Orion.

³ M14 has ‘which.’

⁴ Quoted from Pahl. Yas. IX, 81 (see Chap. XXXVII, 48).

⁵ See Chap. XXXVII, 24-27.

structibility. 15. And it (the girdle) is commanded in revelation for men, more particularly for upholders of the religion¹, *to be* within the middle third *and* near to the uppermost third of the body².

16. *One is* this, that Yim the splendid, *son of* Vîvangha³, who in *his* worldly career was most prosperous in worldly affairs, a keeper away of all agitations of temper⁴ *and* all death, *and* a provider of freedom from decay *and* exemption from death, when he was deceived by the fiend *was* thereby made eager for supreme sovereignty instead of the service of Aûharmazd. 17. And about his administration (dâdârîh) of the creatures *it* is said he himself became cut⁵ away from radiant glory by that fiendishness⁶, and their cause of wandering

¹ M14 continues as follows:—'through that girdle (parvand) of the religion, *and* a thread-girdle (kûstîkô), from the region of the world and religious *in character*, is put on within the middle third,' &c.

² Some words are evidently here missing in the Pahl. text, including the first word of the next section. The reason here given for the girdle being worn round the waist, just below the uppermost third of the body, is that the impregnable barrier of heaven (of which the girdle is a counterpart) is said to be just below the uppermost third of the sky.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 80, 95.

⁴ Reading vispô khôî-sôran, but we might perhaps read vispôân sahôran, 'all oppressors,' assuming that sahôr stands for Av. sâthra, a term applied to some particular tribe of another religion which was under the rule of Yim and his two predecessors (see Zamyâd Yt. 26, 28, 31). Another possible reading is vispôân yêkhvarân, 'all frosts.'

⁵ Assuming that khvûđakô stands for khûđakô, but the word is uncertain.

⁶ The particular kind of fiendishness that led Yim astray in his old age (like Solomon) was lying, that is, denial of the truth of his religion. In consequence of this apostasy the royal glory departed from him, and he allied himself to the demons in the

(garīnisnō) is the demon, and mankind perishes in that wandering from plain and hill-side¹. 18. And his pardon originated from the fully-persistent creator; therefore he spoke *and* gave advice unto his successors as to the retribution of those *who* shall abandon the service of the creator; and therein is explained about the fortress of the angels², with the many proper actions which are the strength of the fortress, and about the proportional way it is strengthened when a belt worn on the waist is ordered for men *by* him—the fully glorious ruler who *was* lord of the world, and also in gloriousness well-betokening the good creation—*and* they³ likewise order *it*.

19. One is this, that just as through that reason⁴, which is an appointment (padō-dahisnō) that the sacred beings decreed, the *sacred thread-girdle was* worn even before the coming of Zaratūst the Spītamân, *so* after *the coming of* that messenger (vakhšvar) of the sacred beings, the righteous Zaratūst—who enjoined the commands of the good spirits *and* the exposition of the religion, with discourse praising the sacred beings and scriptures (avīstākō) about steadfastness in the good religion—the same religious girdle is put on, with a religious formula⁵, around

617th year of his reign, and remained in their power for most of the remaining century of his life (see Zamyād Yt. 31-38, Bd. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4).

¹ Assuming that dastō stands for Pers. dast, and varīvakō for Pers. garīvah; otherwise, we may read 'from dignity and the hovel (varīkākō),' meaning that they perish from all ranks, instead of all places.

² The rampart of heaven (see § 11).

³ His successors.

⁴ As detailed in § 18.

⁵ The Nirang-i Kustī (see § 27).

the body, over the garment of Vohûman¹. 20. Because the same intimation, relative to girding (*parvandisnik*) is wisdom for which the race of the religion is so justly famed that innumerable people, with the same customs *and* equally proper girding, wear the *sacred thread-girdle*, the ceremonial belt of the religion *and* indication of the creator, on the middle of the body; *and* it becomes more destructive of the power of destruction², more obstructive of the way to sin, and more contesting (*kastaktar*) the will of the demons.

21. One is this, that *he* is unwise that *has* not worn *it* when that *man has* arrived in whose law no belting and no girdling³ are ordered, and more perplexing and more grievous destruction is so manifested at the time, that *it* is similar evidence to that exposition of revelation, the purport (*a êvâz*) of *whose* question *and* reply is spoken thus⁴:—"O creator! in whom is the manifestation of secretly-progressing destruction, that is, in whom is its progress⁵?" And *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: "In him who is the guide of a vile religion; whoever it is who puts on a girdle

¹ The sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2). The garment of a purified man is called Vohûman in Vend. XIX, 76-78, 81-83 (trans. D.).

² The term *seg* or *sêg*, used for 'destruction' here and in §§ 21-23, is the name of 'the fiend who causes annihilation' (see Bd. XXVIII, 26).

³ It is possible that *an-ayivyâgânih* may mean 'no garmenting,' and refer to the sacred shirt, as the previous term *avîbandih*, 'no belting,' refers to the sacred thread-girdle.

⁴ In Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 21-23, with some variations (see Haug's Essays, p. 367).

⁵ Instead of *rûbâkih*, 'progress,' K₃₅ has *rûbânih*, which might mean 'soul-state,' but is probably a clerical blunder.

at most thrice (3-tûmak) in a year¹, that is, he does not wear a *sacred* shirt and *thread-girdle*, and his law also is this, that it is not necessary to wear *them*”—and when the law of no belting is so grievous that, when that law shall be accepted, it is observed *that* destruction is strengthened.

22. The same belt, kept on after the command of Yim, *was* the first token as regards which an annihilator of destruction is mentioned *and* established by law; *and on* both occasions² destruction is more grievously manifest. 23. That which is more particularly important is such as the destroyer of destruction, Yim the splendid, advised, which the high-priest of the good, Zaratûst the Spitamân, mentioned thus:—‘The *sacred thread-girdle* is as a sign of the service of the sacred beings, a token of sin ended, and a presage of beneficence; *and one is* to put *it on and* to gird *it*, in the neighbourhood of the heart and *on* the middle of the body, with the religious formula accompanying the glorious scripture.’ 24. That is also betokened by *its* equally-dividing (ham-bûr) position and determining fashion; for, as a wise man becomes a discriminator between benefit *and* injury, between good and evil, so also the place of the *sacred thread-girdle* is between below and above. 25. With a low *sacred* girdle there is a passage for one’s want of openness (avîshôdanô) and secret ruin, and also a shutting up³ of life; with a high *sacred*

¹ In the Vendidad it is he who does not put one on for three years.

² Both when ordered by Yim and when confirmed by Zaratûst.

³ Reading *avar-vadisnôih* (the first nasal in *bandisn* = *vandisn* being often omitted); it can hardly be *afrandisnôih*, ‘magnificence,’ because the latter abstract suffix, *-ih*, would be

girdle there is a way *for* thought, word, and deed, and no confinement (agirisnōkârih) of life; and tying the *sacred* girdle with a religious rite (hamdīnō) is like a glory amid the glories *of* the angels, for it is itself through the aid of the patron spirit (ahvō). 26. And from the heart, which is the place of thought and dwelling of life, on the upper side (lâlâih) are the eye, ear, tongue, *and* brain, which are the dwellings of sight, hearing, speech, understanding, and intellect; and on its lower side (frôdih)¹ is the abode of a father's generativeness.

27. When this *sacred thread-girdle*, whose token, sign, and presage are such², is tied, it is girded on with this glorious rite³ of the glorious ones, the custom of the learned, the command of rulers, and the decree of apostles.

28. That secretly-progressing destruction⁴, which *arises* from the fiend of insubordination (asarârih)⁵ who *was* much afraid of Yim, *and* which is averse to the labour of men *and* the service of Aûharmazd, is a demon and irreligious (dûs-dīnō), who is full of fear of the girdles (parvandihâ) of the glory of

ungrammatical after the former, -isnō, in an uncompounded verbal noun. Some of the other words are also uncertain.

¹ The MSS. have merely rōdih.

² As stated in § 23.

³ This is the Nirang-i Kustī, or girdle formula, that has to be performed every time the girdle is re-tied, which happens several times a day. It is fully detailed in Appendix II, at the end of this volume.

⁴ See § 21; the first letter of nihân, 'secretly,' is omitted by K35 in both places.

⁵ Sêg, the fiend of destruction, is connected with the demon Bût in Vend. XIX, 4, 6; but the characteristic of 'insubordination' is more applicable to the demon Tarômat, 'the disobedient' (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, 26, 34).

religion, *with* which both angels *and* also worldlings *have* become belted *and* diligent.

29. Then, because the glory for this belt of ours, which is called the Kûstîk and is worn on the middle of the body, remains unreleased (*avi-vûkht*) from the angels, who are givers of glory, *and from* men who are glorious—which is explained as a similitude *and* sample of fortunes (*bâharakōihâ*) among worldlings, even those *who are* actually primitive creatures likewise¹—it *has*, therefore, seemed comely and desirable. 30. And their heart, will, knowledge, and purpose are as much for it as that which is perceptible where, even apart from those of the good religion who shall tie the *sacred thread-girdle* with the scripture formula, *some* of the faiths of all countries, except those who are unbelted, possess the religious custom². 31. Also outside the seat of the existence of faith³ all men have the waist, or the palms of the hands⁴, or similar joints for a girdle (*kûstîkō*); *and* it is deemed comely, desirable, and convenient for work to wear *it*. 32. And *it* is manifestly the lot (*dakō*) of the thoroughly-praising one whose own desire is truth and the enjoyment of welfare, *it is* a token of the service of the sacred beings, and a sign of walking *in* the commands of religion,

¹ The precise meaning is not very clear.

² Alluding probably to the Brahmanical thread which is worn by the higher castes of Hindus diagonally, over one shoulder and below the other arm, and is so far analogous to the Parsi thread-girdle that it is a religious symbol put on with a religious rite.

³ Reading *varōyisnō ahû gâs*, but K35 has *rōyisnō*, 'growth,' instead of 'faith.'

⁴ Reading *kafihâ*, or *kafagih*. Perhaps the allusion is to a rosary which is held in the hands, or worn on the wrists, by people of many religions.

which they shall tie on account of the superior beings (pâshûmân) with the proper formula, more particularly *with* that which *one* utters when *there is* reliance *upon* the scripture itself.

CHAPTER XL.

1. *As to* the thirty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What kind of goodness and want of goodness can there be *in* the *sacred thread-girdle* and shirt; *and* what are the sin of running about uncovered, of prayer offered and prayer not offered, and the purpose of cleansing (mîsn)?

2. The reply is this, that it (the shirt)¹ is needful *to be* perfectly pure white *and* single, which one fold is because Vohûman also is thus the one creature who *was* first², and afterwards from him the garment which is innermost and concealed is called in revelation³.

3. Proper girdling is double⁴, which two folds are because he also who is in the course of the twofold religious wisdom is intelligent, and the duties *due to* the sacred beings are themselves *in* two divisions

¹ The sacred shirt, constantly worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted), is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm (see Slis. IV, 4-8).

² The archangel Vohûman (see Chap. III, 13) is said to have been the first creation of the creator (see Bd. I, 23).

³ The garment of Vohûman (see Chap. XXXIX, 19).

⁴ That is, it is passed twice round the waist before it is tied the first time, but then it is passed a third time round the waist (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

which are called the instinctive *and that* heard by the ears¹.

4. After a man is in the girding they shall tie on, the symptoms of *any* sins of the belted body are *free* from sin which is condemned (*vigīrinīdō*); and when he walks uncovered, or naked, or with a two-fold garment, there is then no root of *the sin of* running about uncovered² in him. 5. Moreover, on hymns *being* chanted during a meal an *inward* prayer is not also necessary³.

6. The purpose⁴ of a cleansing (*mīsn-aê*) is this, that the suitability of men for eating is due to worship of the sacred beings and glorification of the sacred beings. 7. And *as to* their necessary recommendation (*sipārīh*)⁵ of any food for eating, the

¹ The twofold wisdom of the Avesta comprises the two intellects, the *âsnô khratus*, 'the durable or instinctive wisdom,' and the *gaoshô-srûtô khratus*, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' which are the terms used here.

² The sin of *vishâd-dûbârisnīh*, which would have been incurred in any of these cases if no girdle had been worn, is a venial sin of one Farmân for each of the three first steps, but becomes a Tanâpûhar sin (equivalent to 75 or 400 Farmâns) at the fourth step (see Sl. IV, 8-10).

³ This is mentioned as a further illustration of a greater religious duty superseding a lesser one. When the Gâthas, or hymns, are being chanted, the reciter is already under the protection of the inward prayer (*vâg*) with which all acts of worship must commence; it is, therefore, unnecessary to take another prayer inwardly before eating. Inward prayer is a short formula which is said to be 'taken' and 'retained' inwardly, as a protective spell, by muttering its commencement before certain necessary acts, and after the completion of the act the remainder of the formula is 'spoken out' aloud, and the spell is dissipated, before the person can converse (see Sl. III, 6).

⁴ The MSS. have *pēm*, 'milk,' instead of *kīm*, 'purpose,' but see § 1; the Pahl. letters *p* and *k* are often much alike.

⁵ M14 has *sipâsīh*, 'praise;' but this and several other emenda-

glorifying of the sacred beings, and the true usages about recounting *it*, it is commanded, before eating, when the mouth is not soiled with food, *that* the mouth (dahân) *should* proceed with the utterance of the pure glorification¹. 8. Being thereupon suitably seated, and *having* properly eaten the food, *one* is to make the mouth clean with a tooth-pick and water; and after eating, before all words, the praise of the sacred beings is glorified by the mouth cleansed by washing. 9. And between the glorifying before eating and the after glorification *one* is not² to speak other words, and when during a meal a word is spoken by the mouth, that kind of glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is offered by its own organ (andâm)³.

10. And every single organ *has* one function, *but* two special functions are connected with the mouth, which are speaking *and* eating; *and* because *they are* together *they* are mutually opposed, for speaking connects that which is an inward possession with outside teachings (*kâshihâ*), *and* through eating, the outside food comes for the inward further vitality of life. 11. As the ancients *have* said, where one operation is appointed unto two operators, *it is* more

tions in the same MS. are probably nothing but unsuccessful attempts to render an obscure text intelligible, without taking the trouble to understand it.

¹ This glorification (stâyisnō) must refer to the inward prayer of § 5, which commences by praising Aûharmazd (see Chap. LXXIX, 2, note).

² Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'on account of.' M14 has altered the passage.

³ That is, when the spell of the inward prayer is broken by speaking before the proper time (see § 5, note), the spell must be renewed before proceeding with the meal.

expressly so that during eating two operations may not both at once (ayag-ik-gûn) be produced, by speaking *and* by eating.

12. To keep those two operations distinct, one from the other, the custom of uttering the praise of sacred beings *and* the glorification of sacred beings when the mouth remains in the act of eating, until the mouth becomes clean from food, is decreed as inconsistent with goodness (aham-vêih). 13. And that *which* remains from the outpouring (rikh) at the time of a cleansing is called 'a cleansing (mîsn-aê).'

14. One means for the retention of knowledge is through not having that retention of knowledge exhausted, but when *one* thus speaks during that cleansing the words are really originating with the mouth, for he does not retain *them*; and whenever (maman) he does not speak anything whatever with the tongue, that religious glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is then offered by him from his own limited resources (sâmânŏ-î vîmônd), and it will be offered from his own limited resources.

CHAPTER XLI.

1. *As to* the fortieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Of those whose decision is this, that it is not necessary to be steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—by *which* decision this is asserted, *that* they should abandon the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—*some one* disparages the religion *and* goes over to a foreign faith (an-airh), then of what nature is his sin

owing thereto, *and* what does the sin owing thereto, as regards those of the same foreign religion, amount to? 2. Or order *some one* then to tell us clearly concerning it, how it is, and how is the disobedience due to this sin.

3. The reply is this, that an adult is worthy of death¹ on account of the good religion they² would abandon, on account also of the adopted law of the foreign faith *he* is worthy of death, in whose reliance upon the improper law is also the sin which they³ maintain *and* practise by law, and through *being* in the same law *he* is equally sinful with them.

4. And also when any one is on that course, and his wish is *for* the same protection, of which a similitude is *in* the enduring words of that good law they would forsake, and he adopts that which is vile⁴, even through that impropriety *he* is equally sinful.

5. When he dies, without renunciation⁵ of *that sin* and impenitently, in that improperly-constituted law, the position of his soul is then in the worst

¹ That is, he commits a mortal sin, for which he could have formerly been condemned to death by the high-priest (see Sls. VIII, 2, 5-7, 21).

² The teachers of infidelity.

³ The foreigners.

⁴ The probable meaning is that if he conforms to the foreign faith merely from politic motives, while retaining a belief in his own religion, he is still equally sinful.

⁵ This renunciation is effected by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. But this formal renunciation must be accompanied by atonement and true repentance; and in order to ascertain the proper atonement all serious sins must be confessed to the high-priest (see Sls. IV, 14, VIII, 1, 2, 8-10).

existence¹, and his punishment is that of many *sins* worthy of death; from the demons also *there* come grievously, hand in hand, pain and suffering, gnawing and stench of many kinds, stinging, tearing, and lacerating, primary evil and discomfort. 6. And through their² law and faith his distress in that worst existence is thus until the last change of existence, when the renovation of *the universe* is produced by will among living beings.

7. But reality (aitōih), as regards living, arises from renunciation of that disobedience; it makes those attract to the good law who seduced him to that evil law, that which established him improperly in the law it eradicates from *his* conduct (rûbâkih), advancing sins it again restrains, and whatever *has* advanced it repairs again anew through the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* he becomes thoughtful, constant, and steadfast. 8. The sin which he set going he restrains and atones for by wealth, trouble, and authorising³ commands; even in the body he also undergoes punishment in the three *nights* (satûih)⁴; he then obtains forgiveness, and his soul is saved.

9. And as *it* is said in the persistent law of the sacred beings⁵, that 'the good religion of the sacred beings, who are the Mazda-worshipping superiors,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 3.

² The foreigners'.

³ Or, tûbânkâr may mean 'lavish.' The ordering of religious ceremonies, as good works in atonement for sin, is probably intended; and these always imply a lavish expenditure upon the priesthood.

⁴ Referring to the three nights' punishment after the resurrection of the body, which is specially reserved for mortal sinners (see Bd. XXX, 16).

⁵ Quoting, with some alteration, from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

ordains *it* as retribution,' so that the sin it takes away (spayêiti)¹ may not exist in him, his retribution is declared by revelation. 10. And by the same witness *it* is said, that all of the primitive faith have been quite of the same opinion about this, that from the good religion except by² the way of renunciation of *sin* there is none unless to hell; but that renunciation *should* be during life, for it is said that 'whoever *when* living does not become righteous, that is, does not fully atone for sin, *for* him *when* dead *there* is no grant of³ the best existence.' 11. To commit no sin is better than retribution *and* renunciation of sin.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. *As to* the forty-first question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who remains in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *whom* men shall make the protection and assistance of the good religion⁴, *who* shall save men from a foreign faith and irreligion (akdînôih), and then holds back *some* of those who have the idea that they should go over to a foreign faith and irreligion, *and* they do not go over to the foreign faith, *but* become steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, what is then⁵ the

¹ The Avesta verb spayêiti, here used as a technical term, occurs frequently in Vend. III, 142-148.

² Assuming that barâ, 'indeed,' stands for pavan, 'by,' (see Chap. VII, 2 n.)

³ Reading bakhshîsn-1, but it may be a corruption of bakhshând, 'they shall grant,' as assumed in M14. This passage is quoted from Pahl. Vend. V, 173.

⁴ Some one placed in authority, such as a high-priest or judge, is evidently meant.

⁵ Reading êdînas, 'then of him,' instead of ayûf, 'or;' the

nature of the decision of the angels *about* him, and what is the nature of their (the men's) good works *and* sin?

2. The reply is this, that *he* is much extolled, happy, exalted, of great good works *and* abundant recompense, and the path to the best existence, prepared (frâ râstō) by his righteousness, is wide¹; the delight of *his* soul becomes complete, *and its* hope² is great. 3. And every good work that is manifested in the good religion by those who are transferred by *him* from a foreign faith and irreligion, and *which* they shall do thereafter—when, through the perseverance *and* praise exercised by *him* who is protected by the religion, they are saved *from* irreligion—becomes his as much as though it had been set going by *him* himself, and *he has* the same praise and the same good works with them. 4. Of the extent (sâmânō) *and* amount of such good works *there* is no writing a second time, unless *his* acquaintance with the full computation of the good works due to *their* number is continuous³; but when *in* the same way they are practising and steadfast in sin it shall not be assigned *to him*⁴. 5. Then his position in

two words being alike in Pahlavi except in the latter part of the last letter.

¹ That is, his path to heaven over the *Kinvađ* bridge is rendered wide and easy by his good deeds (see Chap. XXI, 5).

² Reading aîmêd; M₁₄ has khîm, 'disposition,' and K₃₅ has khîmâd, which suggests 'shall be greatly celebrated' as a possible translation.

³ The meaning appears to be that their good works are imputed to *him* only so long as he continues to exercise some control over them.

⁴ That is, their sins will not be imputed to *him* in the same way as their good works.

righteousness¹ is very grand, and in the world he has himself great eminence, applause, *and* dignity.

6. And as much as that which is an improper law *and* a law worthy of death is a punishing of the soul, and the disconnected² words and perversion (*vas-takîh*), due also to the perfidy (*rangisnô*) of the fiend *who has* come, are such that in his time the religious rites (*dînô*) performed are rites of grievous vexation *and* fear, *so* that which is a proper law, like the great glorification in spirit and the connected words of the high-priests, is the arrival of the good spirit as much as a virtue worthy of recompense *and* full of hope. 7. Even as that which is said thus: 'Of men who are practisers of good deeds the manifestation is then in their children.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. *As to* the forty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *Regarding* a man who is consecrating a sacred cake³, and the fire is his household attendant (*khavag-î mânô*) from afar, when he sees *it*, at how many steps is it improper? 2. When they consecrate a sacred cake by *light of* a lamp, why do they not say *the words* 'tava âthrô (for thee, the fire),' as *by* another fire? 3. And of the propitiatory dedications (*shn ûmanôihâ*)⁴ to the period of the day (*gâh*), the day, and the month of the consecration of the sacred cake, which is that

¹ Or, perhaps, *aharûbôih* may here mean 'the righteous existence' or heaven.

² Reading *apaðvand*, instead of *va paðvand*.

³ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 1.

which when earlier *or* later is also then not proper, *and* which is that which is proper? 4. When they shall accomplish the consecration of a sacred cake *with* one more dedication *than those* of the thirty days of the months in the year, how is it necessary to act so that it may not enter *too* early; and which is the one more dedication which, when they shall make *it*, is proper, which is that which is not proper, and which is that which is earlier and later?

5. The reply is this, that at forty-eight¹ feet from the sacred twigs² to the fire—which would be about nine reeds, *if* of a medium man—even though *one*

¹ K₃₅ has 'forty-seven.' Taking the foot at 10½ English inches (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n) the 48 feet would be 42 English feet, and the nâi or reed would be 4 feet 8 inches.

² The baresôm (Av. baresma), or bundle of sacred twigs, is an indispensable part of the ceremonial apparatus; it is held in the hand of the officiating priest while reciting many parts of the liturgy, and is frequently washed with water and sprinkled with milk. It consists of a number of slender rods, varying with the nature of the ceremony, but usually from five to thirty-three. These rods were formerly twigs cut from some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used; and when not in the hand of the priest they are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the officiating priest while reciting certain prayers (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399), during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk, or girdle, formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. This girdle, being passed twice round the middle of the bundle of twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side of the bundle, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

sees the fire *and* does not say 'tava âthrô¹,' it is proper. 6. And a lamp also has the same contingency (ham-brâh) as a fire; and by our teaching they do not consecrate a sacred cake *at* a lamp on which there is no burning of firewood, *but* they should cause a burning of firewood on that at which they consecrate a sacred cake, and they say 'tava âthrô².'

7. And *there is* a propitiatory dedication *for* each separate consecration of a sacred cake, and not again from the first to the last³; and the first is the nearest to the first day, Aûhar⁴mazd, just as Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') are other days in the series; and the last is the day Anîrân, because in the same series the day Anîrân is the latest⁴. 8. When the seven

¹ These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when addressing the fire, or presenting anything to it, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. III, 52, VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.); they are not to be used, however, when the fire is so far off, or so feeble, that its light cannot be seen by the speaker (see Sls. X, 37).

² Meaning that in his opinion a lamp is no proper substitute for a sacred fire unless a little firewood is burnt in it.

³ In the liturgy for the consecration of the sacred cakes, which consists chiefly of Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), the portion contained in Yas. III, IV, VI, VII is filled with propitiatory formulas, some of which are fixed, but others vary according to the hour, day, and month of the service. Some of the variable propitiatory dedications for the day and month are, however, identical with some of the fixed ones, such as those for fire, waters, &c. And in case of the day or month requiring the use of a variable dedication of this description, the object of the text is to prohibit the use of the corresponding fixed dedication, which would be an unnecessary repetition of the same words. This appears to be the meaning of the words *va akhar min zak-î levinö va/ akhar lâ* translated in the text; but it would be hardly possible to express so simple a meaning in a more obscure fashion.

⁴ The series of propitiatory dedications for the thirty days of the

archangels are in the propitiatory dedication it is proper to put the seven archangels first in their own order, then the period of the day¹, then the day, then the month of the consecration, and, afterwards, the other dedications in such order as they are written.

9. And *as to* the earlier which they should put later, one is when they shall put a dedication before the seven archangels, one is that when they shall put the day before the period of the day, one is when they shall put the month before the day, and one is that when a dedication, distinct from the seven archangels, the period of the day, the day, *and* the month, on account of *being* before the archangels, or before the period of the day, or before the day, or before the month, is accounted as improper a dedi-

month (which are also used for months of the same names) constitute the Sîrôzah, which is given in two forms, one in which the names and titles are in the genitive case, and the other in which they are in the accusative. From the first form of the Sîrôzah the proper dedications for the actual day and month are taken and substituted for Yas. III, 50, 51, IV, 40, 41, VII, 41, 42 (which passages, as they stand, are correct only for the first day, Aûhar^hmazd, of the first month, Fravardîn); and from the second form of the Sîrôzah they are similarly taken and substituted for Yas. VI, 37, 38; somewhat in the same way as the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day are taken from the complete series of such writings, and inserted in the Communion service of the Church of England. The first day is Aûhar^hmazd, the ninth day and ninth month are Âtûr, the tenth day and eighth month are Âvân, and the last day is Anirân. Following these variable dedications for the day and month are the fixed dedications for Âtûr, 'fire,' and Âvân, 'waters,' unless they have been already recited for the day or month.

¹ The dedication for the gâh or period of the day occupies the place of Yas. III, 21-37 (in which the formulas for all five gâhs are given); so that when the archangels are to be propitiated the dedications for them must precede Yas. III, 21.

cation as *that of yesterday, or the day before, is for this day.*

10. So that when *it is* the propitiatory dedication for the day Khûr of the month of consecration Âvân¹, the day *and* month are such that their order and the Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') succeeding them are thereby set in reverse order to the *proper* sequence². 11. Then, too, when in the same month³ its propitiatory dedication for the day *and* month becomes *alike for day and month*⁴, it is recited as regards *both* the month and the 'waters' (âvân), because *they are* not connected together and *have* again become non-inclusive; *and* then *one* is to consider them as proper.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. *As to* the forty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man who is superintending (avar-mândakakö) and skilful, in whom great skill as regards religion is provided, and the high-priest's duty and officiating priest's duty (magô-patih) are performed by him; or they are not performed by him, but in him great skill as regards

¹ The eleventh day of the eighth month.

² The meaning is that in such a case the dedications for the day and month, and the fire and waters (Yas. III, 52, 53) which follow, will stand in the following order:—Khûr, Âvân, Âtûr (the second Âvân being omitted as directed by § 7), which is precisely the reverse order of those names among the days of the month.

³ The eighth month, Âvân.

⁴ That is, on the tenth day of the eighth month, when both day and month are Âvân, in which case there would be three Âvân dedications, but only two are to be used as here directed.

religion is provided. 2. In a place of *that* district there is no one who rightly knows the commentary *and* 'the proper *and* improper¹,' so that he comes forth into a place of such decay (*sapakhân*); *and* the people of the district—who constantly order all the religious rites (*dînô*²) of many sacred ceremonies from any poor *man* of the various persons from other districts whose skill and superintending are not *like* his, but they constantly come *to* that district—shall constantly receive *from him* all the many religious rites and many sacred ceremonies. 3. *And* that man, who is revered and skilful, proceeds not undejectedly (*lâ anaskandîhâ*) and bashfully *to* his own superintending position, the position of the religion and position of the skill which are his; he does not demand any employment in the district or any award (*dînâ*) from the district, and does not know *how* to provide any other employment or award, in which there would be *any* fitness for him. 4. Are the people of the district—on account of the skill and activity which that man has exercised in religion, due to the performance of all the religious rites and sacred ceremonies which they constantly order—

¹ From this it would appear that a treatise called 'Shâyast Lâshâyast' existed a thousand years ago, which probably bore some resemblance to Sls., the work which now bears the same name.

² The words *hamâk dînô*, translated 'all the religious rites' both here and elsewhere, are a technical term which (as I am informed by Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay) is applied to 'those obligatory religious rites and festivals that every Parsi is bound to observe by performing certain ceremonies, in his or her name, with the assistance of priests engaged for the purpose. These rites and festivals include the Rapithvan, the Gâhâmbârs, the Fravardîgân, the monthly festivals, &c.'

thereupon to prepare that man a stipend (bâhar)¹, and is it necessary for them to give a stipend to that man, or how is it necessary to act; and is it necessary for them to collect *it* for him, or not? 5. And of the much advantage of all the religious rites and work is it necessary to speak thus: 'Until the *time* that thou hadst come it was not possible for us to order except of him who is inferior to thee,' or how is *it* to be done? 6. Is it necessary to collect a stipend for him on account of the benefit and reasoning thought (vîrmatö) on other subjects, of which *he was* the means, or how is it necessary *for* the superintendent *of* our people to collect such stipend of skill, position, and religion?

7. The reply is this, that a man of such description as written *above*, and superintending the exercise of skill and provision of ability, is very worthy of a stipend and courtesy (khûpîh); also, through good management of all religious rites *and* the ceremony of the sacred beings, *he* is very confident in any uncertainty. 8. Therefore it is necessary to consider that he manages more openly and better than those whose skill and ability are not *like* his; and also as regards stipend and reasoning thought, owing to the worthiness of the ceremony of the sacred beings, his are more whose skill, ability, and activity in religion are greater. 9. And *as to* a man who is as written *above*—when all those religious rites and ceremonies are well-managed by him, and his repeated direction and right continuance of proper duties are an accumulation of his own reasoning

¹ Literally 'a share' of the produce of the district, analogous to tithes.

thought and great capability, and are ordered of him with great solicitude—*one* is also to consider him a stipendiary¹ thereby, and a thriving acquirement of ample reasoning thought. 10. And *as to* him, moreover, who is less skilled than he, *and* of inferior position, by as much as he is not *so* worthy, *his* custom is therefore to produce a want of himself again.

11. But he who *has* much skill should have² a great stipend, and he of medium ability should have² a medium *one*, he *having* less means of benefiting worthily, maturely, and necessarily. 12. And the value is as it is said in revelation thus: 'The stipend they should announce to him who is an upholder of religion is two shares, *and* to him who is mediocre *only* one, to him whose lot is inferior.'

13. That man is a master *and* high-priest³ whose usage also (*âin-ikô*) is wise, and in ability, goodness, and skill is the best of *those of* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which is the religion of wise upholders. 14. And the exercise of his religious disposition—originally possessing a religious stipend—which they shall order of him in *that* place, and that *of* the other worthy *ones and* applicants in the place and coming applying to the place, as much

¹ Literally 'a shareholder.'

² Assuming that the adverbial suffix -ihâ may be taken here (as it can be probably in all cases) as the Pâz. conditional form hâê of the verb 'to be,' equivalent to the more usual forms aê, âe, and the Huz. hômanâe (see Chap. XLVIII, 23).

³ Or, *rad dastôbar* may mean 'an awarding high-priest,' as he is called *rad*, 'master, chief,' in virtue of his power of sentencing sinners and governing the religious body, and he is called *dastôbar*, 'upholder of customs,' in virtue of his control over rites and ceremonies.

as it is worth *and* happens *to be* their own want, *one* is to altogether thoroughly well consider for him.

15. Good destiny is not fulfilled by granting *to* those applying, *but* through forward ability, the forward, kind-hearted¹, *and* extreme skill provided, *and* grand position he is worthy of much stipend, *and* it is important to make *them* stipendiary in their own gradation of applying. 16. For the observance of moderation *and* the granting of applications are mutually destructive, *and* it is discriminatively said that the high-priest *Gâmâsp* of the *Hvôvas*² considered, in that mode, the much skill of that good superintendent *being* without a stipend *as* not disproportionate, *but* most justly very moderate.

17. Moreover, to collect *for* all except for one skilful *man*, and to provide a stipend *for* any other applicants, is not right; and the limits should be³ moderate, for each one really shares the moderate apportionments according to his own want, apart even from the sacred ceremony. 18. But to collect for such a man, who *has* kind-heartedly superintended by rule during reasoning thought, is a greater good work than to approve even him *who* is superintending much more authoritatively. 19. And he who *has* himself requested is to obtain everything last; for, except *in* that *case* when a virtuous doer *has* in any

¹ Literally 'good-hearted.'

² The Av. *Gâmâspa Hvôgva* (or *Hvôva*) of Yas. XLV, 17, L, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 103. He was high-priest and prime minister of *Kaî-Vistâsp*; but probably the opinion of some much later *Gâmâsp* is here erroneously attributed to him, much in the same way as the comparatively modern Book of Enoch is attributed to Enoch, 'the seventh from Adam,' in Jude, 14.

³ Reading *hâê* instead of *-îhâ*, as in § 11.

mode begged a livelihood¹ and is not capable of earning it—so that something even of the righteous gifts² of clothing is begged by him—to live in idleness is not the way to be assisted; but he who has not himself requested, and is wise, is to beg a suit of clothes (rakht-hanâ).

20. They give to the good provider of gifts much praise, and for the preservation of the perfect giver are many religious friends³, and the position of the upholders of religion⁴; so it is necessary to give, and to consider it as provided for the great female whom revelation greatly celebrates⁵, that patron spirit (ahû) connected with religion, as it is said that in the opinion of Hûmân⁶, the high-priest, the propitious religion is, as it were, the way of saving their souls⁷.

¹ M14 has zivisnô, and K35 has zivandân.

² Charitable donations given to the priesthood and poor for the purpose of acquiring religious merit on certain solemn occasions; they often consist of clothing, and are then supposed to furnish the giver, or the person in whose name they are given, with garments in the other world after the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 28).

³ The angels who assist his soul after death, such as Srôsh, Mitrô, Rashnû, Âstâd, and the good Vâê (see Chaps. XIV, 3, 4, XXX, 2-4).

⁴ That is, he will occupy the same grade in heaven as the priesthood.

⁵ Referring to the maiden spirit supposed to meet the good soul after death and to conduct it over the *Kinvad* bridge to heaven (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XXXVII, 117). She is described in Vend. XIX, 98-101, and more fully in Hn. II, 22-32 and the later Pahlavi works. Her beauty is said to be proportional to the religious merit of the soul, and she is here identified with the ahû or patron spirit.

⁶ Probably some one nearly contemporary with the author, such as Âtûr-pâd son of Hêmîd (see Bd. XXXIII, 11), who is called hû-manô, 'well-meaning,' and styled 'the leader of the people of the good religion' in the *Dînkard* (III, ccccxiii).

⁷ The maiden spirit, being developed by religious actions, is

21. About upholders of religion, and a more particular rule how the lawful computation should be for glorifying with moderation, a chief of the priests¹ *has* spoken thus: 'Shouldst thou be our father in wealthiness, I am thy protector in body, *and* thou becomest thy protector in soul².'

22. The same collection³ is the way of the friends of religion for begging from the upholders of religion the preservation of the soul, *and* for well considering, extremely gracefully *and* fully reverently, the advantage *and* pleasure of the position⁴ of the upholders of religion, so that they shall properly collect for the preservation of souls by the mode of going to collect thoroughly with great gain.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of priesthood (aêrpatih) or discipleship (hâvistih) which is the priest's duty (aêrpatih), *and* which the disciple's; which is that which it is necessary to have in priesthood, *and* which in discipleship?

called the soul's 'own religion' in AV. IV, 23; it is, therefore, that spirit's assistance which is probably meant here, when speaking of religion saving the soul.

¹ A môbad of môbads.

² Meaning that the wealthy man can easily protect his own soul by a proper expenditure of his wealth on good works. The connection of this with the first part of the sentence is rather obscure.

³ Mentioned in §§ 17, 18.

⁴ In heaven (see § 20). To induce the laity to collect ample property for paying the priesthood they are promised a share of the priest's happiness in heaven.

2. The reply is this, that the priesthood and discipleship are connected together; the priests teach the scriptures¹, *and* the disciples learn the knowledge of the religion, that is, the Avesta and Zand². 3. The priest have been disciples; through the teaching of his own priest they make the aroused existence³ of even a disciple become a priest, *and* in one body with the learner are the priesthood and discipleship. 4. Through that which he has learned as a disciple from the priest *he* is wiser, and owing to the priesthood in his own person he teaches the disciple who is a learner; the desire which is his craving for learning is also owing to that in his own priest, when *he was* a disciple unto his own priest.

5. And the disciple *and* priest are even such as is said thus: 'The director (farmâdâr) of the profession of priests (âsravöân) of Pârs⁴, *and* chieftain over the faithful and the officiating priests (magôpatân) of Pârs, is the leader of the religion; *and his* disciple (ashakarďö) is a disciple *in* a selected foremost position among the priests of the religion, set up (madam âgast) over those acquainted with the commentary (zand-âkâsânö).' 6. The

¹ The word mâđigân means a treatise upon almost any subject, but it is specially applied to the Nasks or books of the complete ancient literature of the *Mazda*-worshippers, which are now nearly all lost. It should be noted that 'teaching' and 'learning' are expressed by the same word in Pahlavi.

² The Avesta is the religious literature in its original language, erroneously called Zend by Europeans, and the Zand is the Pahlavi translation of the same literature, with the Pahlavi commentary (see Bd. Introd. p. x).

³ Reading ham-vikhtö yehevûnih and taking ham-vikhtö as equivalent to Pers. angikht.

⁴ This was the post held by the author himself (see Chap. XCIV, 13).

more infallible (*asaktar*) of these is the powerful skill of the priest (*aérpatō*) put forth through the ritual *and* *Visparad*¹, and *his* skill in the commentary (*zand*); the skill of disciples in the Avesta is, further, fully understood, *and* sin *recognised* as oppressive, through the formulas (*nirang*) of the sacred ceremony, ablution and non-ablution, purity and pollution.

7. And both professions are the indispensable preservers of great decisions *as to* that which the priestly disposition *has* taught, done, and considered about the perpetual existence of every being, the complete goodness *and* final success of the non-existent evil *and* entire good of the sacred beings, the annihilation of the demons², *and* the complete understanding of the friends of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Is it allowable *that* those of the priesthood, when there is no daily livelihood for them from the life of the priesthood, should abandon the priesthood, and *that* other work *be* done, or not?

¹ The term *yastō*, 'ritual,' means any form of prayer with ceremony, and appears to include the *Yasna* or chief ceremonial ritual. The *Visparad* (here written *Vispôrêdō*) is a particular form of ceremonial prayer, the various sections of which are interspersed among those of the *Yasna* and *Vendidâd* in the full liturgy of the *Mazda*-worshippers; it is called *Visparad*, 'all chiefs,' because it commences with an invocation of all the spiritual chiefs of the universe.

² *K35* has *khasânō*, which might stand for *khasânō*, 'reptiles,' but is more probably a slight alteration of *sêdânō*, 'demons,' which would correspond to the more modern form, *sêdâânō*, in *M14*.

2. The reply is this, that there is no loss of reputation to priests from priestly duties (aêrpatih), which are themselves the acquired knowledge *that* is accumulated *by* the priestly disposition, care for the soul, *and* the requisite good works. 3. *And* there is this advantage, that, through acquaintance with the religion *of* the sacred beings, *and* certainty as to the reward of the spirit, they make *them* become more contented in adversity, more intelligent as regards stability of character in difficulty *and* restriction, and more through knowledge the abode of hope for those saved. 4. So that it is not fit they should abandon the priesthood, which is both harmless *and* an employment *with* advantages *that has* required much trouble to learn.

5. But, indeed, when they do not obtain¹ a daily livelihood from priestly duty, and the good do not give them chosen righteous gifts² for it, and they do not let *them* obtain *any* from next of kin *or* the wicked even by begging, a livelihood *may be* requested from the paid performance of ceremonies, management of all religious rites (dînô), *and* other priestly disciple's duty therein³. 6. When even by that they do not obtain *it*, *they* are to seek a livelihood by agriculture, sheep-rearing, penmanship, *or* other proper employment among priests; *and* when *it* is not possible for them to live even by these, *they are to seek it* by bearing arms, hunting, *or* other proper employment in the profession of a virtuous warrior. 7. And when even it is not

¹ K35 has 'beg,' both here and in § 6, the difference between the two words in Pahlavi being only a stroke.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ That is, from the general funds of the priesthood.

possible for them to maintain their own bodies, which are in requisite control, by that which is cravingly digested, *they* are to beg a righteous gift¹ authorisedly (dastôbarihâ) as an effectual remedy; by living idly, or not expending strength, their own bodies, which are in control, are without livelihood, but not authorisedly².

CHAPTER XLVII.

I. *As to* the forty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: At a sacred feast (myazd)³ of those of the good religion, in which *there* are fifty or a hundred men, more or less, just as it happens, and seven men who are *engaged* in the performance of the religious rite (dînô) which is celebrated by them are feasting together with them, of those seven men there are *some* who are easily⁴ able to pray five sections (vidak)⁵, and *some* six subdivisions (vakhshisnô), of the Avesta, *but* no chapter (fargardô)⁶ of the commentary (zand) is

¹ That is, charity.

² That is, they are not authorised to beg charity for maintaining themselves in idleness.

³ The sacred feast consists of the consecration of the sacred cakes (see Chap. XXX, 1), followed by that of wine and fruit with the recitation of the Âfringân or blessings (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), after which the consecrated food and drink are consumed by those present, both priests and laymen.

⁴ That is, they know the prayers by heart, which is necessary in reciting the Avesta.

⁵ Compare Pers. vaî, vîd, vîdâ, 'part, little,' guz, 'a portion, a bundle of folios.' M14 has nask, 'book,' but this is clearly an unlucky guess.

⁶ The chapters of the Vendidâd are called fargard's, as are also

easy to them ; and all seven of them are disputing about the right (râs) to the foremost places. 2. And he to whom thirty chapters in¹ the commentary are easy speaks thus : 'The foremost place is mine, and it became my place owing to great retentiveness of memory, for I know the commentary well and "the proper and improper²;" and my place must be good, for whenever I do not indicate this as the place of religion unto the people I am not in the security of religion ; but you should not dispute about my place, for it is not becoming to dispute it, because this neglect and outlandishness (an-aîrîh), which some one brings constantly into the religion, is not due to me.' 3. Those seven men, moreover, speak constantly unto him thus : 'Our place is more important and must ever be so, for every man of us is able to pray several sections in his own officiating priestly duty (zôtih), and it is ever necessary to consider who is more participating in sharing a reward.' 4. Then as to those whose Avesta is very easy, or him who knows the commentary and 'the proper and improper' well, and their goodness and greatness, as asked by us in this chapter, direct some one to make them clear unto us, for when he demonstrates the littleness and greatness in this

those of the Vistâsp Yast and many of the lost Nasks or books. The text here applies the term specially to the chapters of some scripture with commentary, and it may be noted that the thirty fargard's, subsequently mentioned, are the exact number contained in the Vendidâd and Vistâsp Yast taken together, the learning of which by heart (as the word 'easy' implies) is a very serious task, comparable with learning the whole Greek text of the four Gospels.

¹ Perhaps 'with' is meant, but the word used is pavan.

² See Chap. XLIV, 2.

subject his great religion is then completely an advantage.

5. The reply is this, that, as to that which you ask *me* to write, so that they may decide *whether* thirty chapters in the commentary are easier, *or* really the other, be they five *or* be they six sections of the Avesta, are easier, *there* is no deciding, because which are the chapters and which the sections? 6. For, as regards more cleverness and less cleverness, it is not clear; there are *some* of the sections greater than many sections, and there are chapters *as great as* many chapters, but to understand severally the divisions (*buris*) and enumeration of him to whom five sections of the Avesta are easy, *and* also of him whose thirty chapters in the commentary are easy, it is necessary for making the calculation to consider every single division in the commentary as *equivalent to seven equal* divisions apart from the commentary¹. 7. And it is thereby thus manifest who *has skill in the one* and who *has skill in the other*², and whoever *has less*, when there is nothing in it regarding which *he* is otherwise *than* when the superintending command *of rulers* (*khûdâyân*) delivered over to him the place of duty—or on account of a new officiating priestly duty or directorship (*radîh*) of the season festivals³, or the

¹ The reason for this difference is that it is only necessary to learn the words of the Avesta, without understanding them, whereas a knowledge of the Zand, or commentary, implies understanding both texts as well as knowing the Avesta by heart.

² M₁₄ omits the repetition of the words *mûn afzâr*, but it seems necessary for the completion of the idiomatic phrase.

³ The six Gâsânbârs or Gâhambârs are festivals, each held for five days, and severally ending on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. They were probably

foremost places *being* occupied, or like causes he becomes otherwise—is fit for all the great share *and* very good estimation of the place of *one* much more skilful, when their *being* fitting *and* skilful, or *their* excess *or* deficiency, is not specially manifest from their skill¹. 8. And him to whom the commentary is very easy, *having* prayed much, it *has* seemed important to consider more thriving proportionable to *his* eating².

9. And great and ample respect for both their ways of worthiness is an advantage *and* fully necessary, skill in the commentary *and* that in the Avesta *being* together mutually assisting; for even the solemnizers of the Avesta *have* need for information from the commentary about the scattered (parvand) 'proper *and* improper' *usages* of the sacred ceremony. 10. The more efficient information from the commentary is advantageous when the ceremonial is proceeded with by them, and one of those two is one of the skilful, *and* a friend, provider, glorifier, and aggrandizer for the other; and the friends of religion are good friends *and*, therefore, also providers of fame for both of them.

intended originally to celebrate the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sl. XVIII, 3), when the Parsi year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox. In later times they were supposed to commemorate the creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man.

¹ The meaning seems to be that a priest once acknowledged as pre-eminent is not to lose his right of precedence merely because others become rather better qualified, so long as he himself does not retrograde, or is not superseded in his official duties. But if through any accidental circumstance he be excluded from the chief seat, he ought not to dispute the matter.

² Or, perhaps, 'through *being* moderate in *his* eating.'

11. When, too, they are publishing accusing statements, one about the other, from necessity, or from the violence which is owing to the adversary¹, *it* is important to become an excuser as regards them, and not a diminisher of their share, *nor* a bringer (âkhtâr) of unhealthiness to *their* united strength.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The forty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How is a liking for the desirableness, joy, and pleasure *arising* from the sacred ceremony (*yazisn*) friendly to Aûharmazd, the archangels², and the guardian spirits of the righteous³; in what manner is the perfection of him by whom the ceremony is ordered and the people of the country then exalted by them; and how *and* in what manner does it become the vexation, defeat, anguish, *and* discomfort of the evil spirit, the demons, *and* the fiends? 2. How is the purpose of the ceremony, what is the ceremony, where is the place⁴ when they shall perform *it*, what is good when they shall

¹ The evil spirit.

² The archangels are usually reckoned as seven in number, because Aûharmazd, their creator, is considered as presiding over the six others, whose names are Vohûman, Arđavahist, Shatvairô, Spendarmazd, Horvadađ, and Amerôdađ. These names are merely corruptions of Avesta phrases meaning 'good thought, perfect rectitude, desirable dominion, bountiful devotion, health, and immortality,' respectively, and the archangels, or 'immortal benefactors,' are personifications of these ideas. They are said to have been the first creatures created, after the guardian spirits or prototypes of creation, the light, and the sky (see Bd. I, 8, 23-26).

³ See Chap. II, 5.

⁴ Or gâs may mean 'time.'

perform *it*, and how *is it* good when they shall perform *it*?

3. The reply is this, that the great satisfaction of Aûharmazd and the archangels *arising* from the sacred ceremony is in the purity of its formulary (nîrang), and also in this, that *it* is completely fulfilling his own blessed commands; because he ordered that entire goodness for the complete procedure of those of the good religion (bûndakō hûdînakânakîh), as the recompense and full allotment of the sure upholder of religion among those who rightly recite *it*. 4. From the performance of the ceremonial of the sacred beings are the propitiation of the good spirits, the destruction (drûgîsnö) of violence, the increase of digestiveness, the growth of plants, the prosperity of the world, and also the proper progress of living beings, even until the movement of the renovation of the universe and the immortality of the creatures arise therefrom. 5. It became so, it is expressly said, because the sacred beings are great; and unitedly opposing it the demons are particularly undesirous of *it*, and owing to it their defeat and vexation are severe; its consecrated cup (tâstîkō)¹ also becomes the express preservation of the ceremony.

6. And its purpose enquired about is this, that religion is transmitted clearly to the intelligent, that is, *it is* not the wisdom whose comprehension exists in worldly beings; and as, moreover, even that which is not understood by worldly wisdom is really the

¹ Referring probably to the cup of Hóm juice, the preparation, consecration, and use of which are essentially characteristic of the Yazism or sacred ceremony, and are, therefore, supposed to be very repulsive to the demons.

creature of the spirits, that also which is the spiritual formulary (*nīrang*) is for making *it* intelligible to worldly beings through the body¹. 7. That religion which is comprehensible by the world *and* authoritative (*nikêzakö*) is rightly connected with that which worldly beings are quite able to understand through worldly wisdom; and the understanding about its evidence as to that which is spiritual *and* powerful, apart from the worldly evidence of superiors (*avarikânö*), is the right way of the intelligent. 8. That proper (*kânö*) purpose—in which, moreover, the ceremonial, owing to timely memory for its own completion, is unique—is this unique exhibition of purity in the pure glorifying of the heavenly angels, as is commanded; just as the purpose of the ceremonial of a season-festival *being* before the season-festival, *and* of maintaining (*dârân*) the exposure of the body of a jackal (*sakhâl*)² *or* a man, is to make the body clean from the corrupting (*nasûsikö*) pollution³, *and* also from outward contamination.

9. That also which might be written, as to the much retribution appointed as regards washing the limbs outside with clean moisture from clean

¹ That is, the purpose of the ceremonial is to afford an outward symbol of the spiritual mysteries of the religion.

² This reading is uncertain, but the reference appears to be to the exposure of the dead. *MI4* has the sentence altered as follows:—'just as the ceremony of a season-festival is exhibited more royally (or more joyously) before the season-festival, and a man who is a judge is for the purpose of making the body clean from the corrupting pollution, and also from contamination which is even outside the body, as much as is proper.'

³ That is, the pollution due to the *Nasûr*, or fiend of corruption, who is supposed to seize upon all corpses (see Chap. XVII, 7).

animals¹ *and* plants, and then completely washing the body with the purifying water streaming forth; as to the clean scents among those which they rightly perceive, and making the body *and* clothing² sweet-scented; *and* as to the putting on of the white and proper garment of Vohûman³, and supposing the power⁴ of avarice *to be* the sight of distress, is *all* superfluous. 10. *But it* is needful still as regards these *matters*, that is, while *engaged* in the ceremonial *it is* not to be hurried owing to any hunger *or* thirst, owing to liability of punishment for religious practices⁵, *or* even owing to deficiency⁶ of vacant space. 11. And before the ceremonial *one* is to eat at the appropriate time, and such food, too, as is preparable and *only* moderately troublesome (navâs); and any of that which *one has* to perform aloud in leaving the heavenly-minded, yet moderate, duty in the abode of fires⁷—which is perpetual light—is proper, pertaining to good works, and good for him, and thereby lodging in *him*. 12. And they, that is,

¹ Referring to ceremonial purification by washing with bull's urine.

² Or 'the clothing of the body.'

³ The sacred shirt (see Chaps. XXXIX, 19, XL, 2).

⁴ Reading *va zôrîh*, but it may be *nizôrîh*, 'weakening.'

⁵ This seems to be the meaning of *min pâdâfrâhîh-î dînôikîh*. At the time this was written the religion was often persecuted, and its ceremonies were liable to interruption; but even when such a misfortune was apprehended, they were not to be hurried over.

⁶ The word is *kamîh* in the MSS., but it may possibly have been *kâmîh* originally, in which case the meaning would be: 'or even owing to wishing for evacuation.'

⁷ The fire temple, where the sacred fire is kept perpetually burning.

the gloomy ones¹, thereby see the service (yasâk) for them themselves is short; and good are *they*² who come into the world glorified by praise.

13. The position of the *ceremony*-holders³ themselves, that is, the position of the officiating priest (zôtö) and his co-operators, is the Aûrvês⁴ place; and, if *it be* the precinct (dargasîh) of prayers⁵, *one* should wash *it* over (madam pasâyâd) with the water of purification, to make *it* clean. 14. The apparatus of the ceremonial, *together* with its own man, who is a solemnizer, and the two creatures *which* are solid⁶ out of these four: fire, metal, water, and plants, just as *one has* to bring *them* together in readiness, the stone Aûrvês, the stone and mortar Khân⁷, and the Hôm-mortar⁸ (hâvanîh), cups, and crescent-shaped (mâh-rûpö) stands⁹ set upon *it*, are *all* ceremoniously washed (pâdyâvinîd) with the water of purification. 15. The

¹ The demons. In M14 the sentence, already obscure, is altered so as to be unintelligible.

² The angels. The meaning is that, by the utterance of the proper formulas at the proper times, the demons are discouraged, and the angels are induced to come to the ceremony.

³ Perhaps we should read sâkhtârân, 'preparers,' as in M14, or else yastârân, 'solemnizers,' instead of dâstârân, 'holders.'

⁴ This is the name of the consecrated space within which the ceremony is performed. It is often written Arvîs, but is probably to be traced to the Av. urvâêsa, 'goal.'

⁵ That is, when the place is about to be used for a ceremony.

⁶ Literally 'material;' meaning the metallic and vegetable portions of the ceremonial apparatus.

⁷ The slightly raised platform or table upon which all the apparatus, except the fire and unconsecrated water, is placed.

⁸ In which the twigs of Hôm are pounded and mixed with water.

⁹ For the Baresôm or sacred twigs (see Chap. XLIII, 5).

bright fire on the clean fire-stand (âtištō)¹ is increased by the dry firewood delivered *to it* purified, *and one* is to put upon *it* at appropriate times the wholesome perfumes of *various* kinds of plants; and the water of purification, which is ritualistically produced² by *reciting* the words of revelation, is in the clean metal cups. 16. The well-grown Hôṃ³ through which the world is possessed of creatures⁴, the Hôṃ through which the production of Zaratûst occurred⁵, is a symbol of the white Gôkerânô⁶ as

¹ A small stone platform on which the fire vase is placed, now usually called âdôst.

² Reading nîrangîkîhâ dâd instead of the unintelligible nîrang ashâyâd of K35, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi; M14 has 'which *one* is to keep pure by the ritual of words of revelation.'

³ A plant said to grow among the mountains in southern Persia, which has not yet been botanically identified, but Anquetil Duperron was told that it resembled a vine without fruit. Twigs of this plant are brought to India 'by traders and are, therefore, considered impure until they have been purified, laid aside for a year, and again purified' (see Haug's Essays, p. 399). A few fragments of these twigs are pounded and mixed with water in the Hôṃ-mortar, and the juice is tasted by the priest who performs the ceremony. The Avesta Hôṃ and the Sanskrit Soma must have been originally the same plant, but both Parsis and Hindus now use plants which are no doubt mere substitutes for that original. In southern and western India the Soma plant now used by the Brahmans is the *Sarcostemma Brevistigma*, a leafless bush of green succulent branches, growing upwards, with flowers like those of an onion; when not in flower it can hardly be distinguished from the *Euphorbia Tirucalli*, or thornless milk-bush, commonly used for hedges in many parts of India.

⁴ Reading dâm-hômand; or it may be sem-hômand, 'renowned.'

⁵ Zaratûst is said to have been begotten in consequence of his parents drinking Hôṃ-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory (see Zs. XI, 10 n). K35 has hôman, and M14 has hômand, instead of hôṃ, in this clause.

⁶ Av. gaokerena, sometimes called gôkard in Pahlavi, the

regards the immortality of the renovation of the universe manifest therefrom, and the resting-places of its vengeance¹ are the various demons; and with it *one* is to put attentively (*sinvisnō-dahak*) in its appropriate place the pomegranate (*hadanapag*)² plant of the *Aûrvarâm*. 17. The vegetable³ sacred twigs carefully girded with the vegetable belt (*parvand*) and girdle, and the metallic⁴ crescent-shaped *stands*—which are in the position of those who are sovereigns of the worldly creatures who are interpreted as the sacred twigs⁵ of the treatises—are prepared.

18. *When* arranged (*stôrdō*) by the bringing together of clean worldly productions, so much the more purely as is possible, the arrival of the pure renders all the symbols reliable. 19. Those celebrators of whom the outside of their own bodies is defiled with their bodily refuse and in clean clothing, and *their* disposition—if⁶ in the religion of

mythic white *Hôm*-tree which is said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and from which the draught of immortality is prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see *Vend.* XX, 17, *Bd.* XVIII, 1-4, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

¹ Reading *ayêngîh nisîm*, but this is uncertain.

² *Av.* *hadhânaêpata*, to represent which the Parsis now use a twig of the pomegranate bush, but it must originally have been some sweet-scented plant (see *Vend.* VIII, 7). The *Aûrvarâm* (*Av.* acc. *urvarâm*) consists of this twig, a small fragment of which is pounded with the *Hôm*-twigs when preparing the *Hôm*-juice.

³ From this it would appear that the practice of using metal wires, instead of twigs of trees, for the *baresôm* (see *Chap.* XLIII, 5) was not in use a thousand years ago.

⁴ Literally 'Shatvaîrian;' the archangel *Shatvaîrô* (*Av.* *khshathra vairya*, 'desirable dominion') having special charge of all metals (see *Bd.* XXX, 19, *Sls.* XV, 14-19).

⁵ Reading *baresom*; *K*₃₅ has *basom* and *M*₁₄ *bîm-ik*.

⁶ *M*₁₄ substitutes *yôshdâsarîniđō* for *denman hîgarîniđō*,

moderate eating in which is a thirst for lawfully drinking—is customarily sleep *and* lethargy through the tendency (rûnō) to falsehood of *their* wisdom, are to consider, even from *their* innermost hearts and minds, the retribution of the body of wrath, the falsehood, and bad thoughts in that disposition of infamy, *and* the recompense of their own renunciation of *it*; *they* are to atone for *their* sinfulness, *and* to seek great purification of mind. 20. And *having* acquired eyes speaking¹ forth, hands in a *state* of ablution, and every other member of the body—especially there where well-accomplishable—*free* from its bodily refuse and covered *with* the clean clothing, the tongue is preserved *and* guarded *from* falsehood *and* the hand from sin, the mind is established *by* little preparation with good consideration for knowledge of the sacred beings, and even the good are to recite by direction (radîhâ) the verbal renunciation of *sin*².

21. The officiating priest (zôtō), *having* directed *and* purified the place³ of the fire with liturgical words⁴, is to go *and* walk unto the place of the officiating priests⁵ while glorifying the sacred beings,

and padmûkht for va khîm hat, so as to read 'the outside of their own bodies is purified and attired in clean clothing,' but this can hardly be reconciled with the context. The term hîgar or hîkhar (Av. hikhra), here translated 'bodily refuse,' is applied to any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a dead one.

¹ Reading gôvak, but it may be yûvâk, 'wishing,' or dûvâk, 'flowing.' M14 alters it to vênâk, 'looking,' which suits the eyes well enough, but hardly seems to express the author's idea.

² See Chap. XLI, 5.

³ M14 has '*having* purified around the place.'

⁴ The Âtar Nyâyis (see Haug's Essays, p. 403).

⁵ This place is at the end of the ceremonial area farthest from

and to consider invokable the glory given to the luminaries *and* the guardian spirits of the good. 22. Of those¹ also who, co-operatively, conjointly, and interspersed (*ham-rêš*), *have* each separately remained in their own places *and* thought of the sacred beings, with propitiation of Aûharmazd *and* scornful notice (*tar dahisnô*) of the evil spirit, the employment stands forth prominently at the ceremonial. 23. *As to* the position of others co-operating *with* him who is an officiating priest of good leadership, there are *some* who are for the Avesta², there is the solitude (*khadûîdârîh*) by the fire, there are *some* who are bringers³ forward of water, there are *some* who are for carriers away, there are *some* who are solitary ones, there are *some* who are gregarious ones, there are *some* who are directors of duties, and their own needful arrangement in the place is arranged in the ceremony.

24. In cleanliness, purity, *and* truth, as much as *there is* in *this* mingled existence⁴, if *one has* to commence a ceremony glorifying the sacred beings,

the fire. Here the priest first invokes the spirits in whose honour the ceremony is about to be performed, by reciting their several propitiatory formulas (see Chap. XXIX, 1).

¹ Referring to any other priests who may be present.

² M14 has 'for carriers,' omitting the three clauses about the Avesta, fire, and bringing water.

³ Or, perhaps, 'there is *he* who may be a bringer;' and similarly in the following clauses. The plural suffix *-îhâ* being identical in form with the Pâz. conditional form of the verb 'to be,' which seems to be the origin of the adverbial suffix corresponding to *-ly* in English when added to an adjective; occasionally it is added to a substantive, as is probably the case here, and can then be only translated by 'may, or would, be' (see Chap. XLIV, 11).

⁴ This first clause may belong to the preceding section.

when the righteously-disposed temperament is purified *along* with the apparatus the abundant ritualism (nîrangakîh) of the spirit is a symbol *and* reminder of the will of the sacred beings, undesired by the fiend¹, *and* remains a blessing deservedly unto *those* come together. 25. Then is explained the text (avistâk) of that great scripture (naskô) which is called the Hâdôkht², *that* is itself the best of the chiefs of the scriptures, *and* of the sublime Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *that* is not recited by any voice with falsehood (âkadbâ)⁴, *and* is called 'the origin of every truth'⁵.

26. The pure glorification of the sacred beings is in the light, this is in the morning time (frâyar gâs)⁶; and even until night the ritualistic *and* true

¹ K₃₅ has drôn, 'sacred cake,' instead of drûg.

² The twentieth Nask, which is said to have chiefly treated of religious ceremonies and texts (see Byt. III, 25). Two Avesta fragments, published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI and XXII, are traditionally ascribed to this Nask.

³ Another name for the Dâmdâd Nask, from which the Bundahis appears to have originated (see Zs. IX, 1). The name is also applied to a particular series of ceremonies, continued for twelve successive days in honour of each of the twenty-two sacred beings whose names are given to the 1st-7th, 9th-14th, 16th-22nd, 24th, and 26th days of the month; these ceremonies last, therefore, for 264 days (see Byt. II, 59).

⁴ It can hardly be akadbâ, as that would imply that it 'is not recited by any undeceitful voice.' The use of the prefix â- in the sense of 'with' is rare, but it occurs in âpûstanû, 'pregnant,' (whence Pers. âbistan), and is noticed by Dastûr Jâmâspji in his Pahlavi Dictionary, p. 2.

⁵ Reading bun-î ko'â râstîh, apparently a forerunner of the modern name Bundahis.

⁶ The frâyar period of the day corresponds to the Hâvan Gâh or morning (compare Farh. Okh. p. 42 with Bd. XXV, 9), at which time the Yasna ceremonial should be performed when not accom-

recitation of revelation (dīnō) is unchangeably proceeding, undivided and faultless. 27. This, too, is in benediction of the angels; this, too, is producing restraint of the fiends; this, too, is in praise of the glorious ones, the mighty doers; this, too, is as an admonition for creatures subject to command; this is in the true words of the ancients who *have* passed away; this, too, is as a suitable servant for the righteous, these good doers; this, too, is to obtain a permanence (patistân) of requisites; this, too, is suitable for the discreet *and is* merciful; this, too, is as another way *in* which the promoters of good (vêh-yâvkârân) are pardoned, as soon as the Hômjūice (parâhôm) is digested, through not *having* eaten from dawn till night during the pure utterance of the pure glorification. 28. And, moreover, *one* performs no work¹, nor is even a word uttered; *one* does not go to sleep, nor should they allow any pollution to the body; the sequence (patisârîh) of the religious formulas is, likewise, not changed from that ordered, nor is even a detached thought away from that truth *and* purity; *but* always *with* phrases rightly consecutive *and* properly worded (hû-sakh-unagânôihâ) the Avesta is uttered; and even the manner of response of one's co-operators is *in* modes contributing to good (hû-padâyâkō), or they utter the scripture (nask).

29. Since the production of stench is needing *something* essentially purifying, many formulas in the ceremonial are tokens *and* signs which, while they

panied by the Vendidâd; or, according to the text, it must be performed by daylight.

¹ During the ceremonial.

are strongly manifested, are terrifying *and* vexing to the demons, *and* inviting *and* rejoicing to the angels. 30. Such as, indeed, the pure Hôm, which is squeezed out by four applications of holy-water (zôrîh)¹ with religious formulas, is noted even *as* a similitude of the understanding² and birth of the four apostles bringing the good religion, who are *he who* was the blessed Zaratûst *and they who* are *to be* Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns³. 31. As also the metal mortar (hâvan) which is struck⁴ during the squeezing of the Hôm, and its sound is evoked *along* with the words of the Avesta, which becomes a reminder of the thoughts, words, and deeds on the coming of those true apostles into the world. 32. As *also* the proper rite as regards the water, that they should perform three times⁵, which is showing the world the glorious seizing of water⁶ and formation

¹ In preparing the Hôm-juice fresh holy-water (zôr) is added four times to the Hôm-twigs which are each time pounded anew, while reciting the Ahunavar formula, and their liquor strained into a cup (see Haug's Essays, p. 402).

² There is no authority for translating *sinvisnô* by 'conception,' otherwise that meaning would suit this sentence better. *M14* has *yehevûnisnô*, 'existence,' which differs by only one extra stroke of the pen in Pahlavi.

³ See Chap. II, 10.

⁴ The word *sikâvî-aîtô* really means 'is split.' During the pounding of the Hôm-twigs the pestle is struck several times against the sides of the mortar, so as to produce a ringing sound (see Haug's Essays, p. 401).

⁵ Reading *vidanâg*, instead of *gûn-aê*, by transposing the first two Pahlavi characters. After the first series of poundings of the Hôm-twigs holy-water is added to them three times while reciting, each time, the *Ashem-vohû* formula (*ibid.*).

⁶ The evaporation from the ocean, said to be effected by *Tîstar* for the production of rain (see Chap. XCIII, 2, 3).

of rain, *and* the healthfulness of the production of rain¹. 33. *And* as the purification of the milk, by the glorious ritualistic *product* (nīrang)² taken from the purifying cattle, is divided in two, by means of which the token is that which is great, glorious, *and* good; one *being* for the daughter of Pâûrvâgtryâ³ the Mazda-worshipper, *and* from her *was* Aôshnôr full of wisdom; and one *being* Farhank, *daughter* of Vidhirisâ⁴, and from her came Kaî-Kavâd⁵.

34. *And*, as to the high-priests of the glorious religion, it is said many concomitants (pađvandîhâ) are obtained; such as, much discrimination of scripture (nask), the holy-water which is indispensable as a remedy, the healthfulness which is given in that ceremonial to the sacred fire⁶ which the world destroys, that pre-eminent strength which is given at the end of the world from the ox Hadhayâs⁷ unto the good *people* scattered about (fravaftân)—it is

¹ The delightfulness of rain after an eight-months' drought cannot be adequately appreciated by a dweller in Europe.

² That is, bull's urine.

³ The reading of this name, as well as that of Aôshnôr, is doubtful; but if these names occur at all in the extant Avesta, they may perhaps be found in the Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2; the epithet pouru-gîra, when it occurs after the name, would naturally be considered a patronymic, whence a father or grandfather could be easily created, if he did not exist already in legendary history.

⁴ This name is written in Pâzand, and is evidently meant for the same person as the Pâz. Vidharg-âfrâstaka of Bd. XXXI, 31, where Farhank is said to have been the mother of Kaî-Apîvêh and, therefore, the wife of Kaî-Kavâd.

⁵ M14 has 'from him she came unto Kaî-Kavâd,' which would tally better with the statements in Bd. XXXI, 25, 31.

⁶ Literally 'the fire of Varahrân (Bahrâm).'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

mingled with the fire of men's bodies¹, and they, therefore, become perfect and immortal through it—and there are also other *things*. 35. There are *also* in the ceremonial many tokens *and* signs of spiritual mysteries, glorious matters, and habitual practices of which statements *would* be very tedious.

36. And if the wish (ayûpö) should be this, that they should be *engaged* in a single ceremony of the length of a day, a man who is righteous in purification, inside and outside the body, should stay away from all *his* relations and the worldly transaction of business, *from* malicious actions *and* covetous practices, separated from all lying *and* falsehood of relatives; *and his* words are to be all those which are serving the angels, glorifying, *and* begging favours. 37. Then, indeed, the way of the spirit and the harmoniousness² of the sacred beings are manifest therefrom; *and* those which are as much the means due to the primitive good creations as is more purely possible are strengthening as regards the utility (bûn) for offering, encouraging for purity, confounding for the confusers (gûmêgakân), terrifying for the fiends, and propitiating for the sacred beings.

38. The ceremonial which is good is when they shall perform *it* for a pure disposition and assured wisdom, a minder of the religion of the sacred beings of the spheres, and *with* pure thoughts, just thoughts³, wise deeds, a purified body, a tongue worthy of good

¹ The vital heat or Vohu-fryân fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading âhankânakîh, as in K₃₅; M₁₄ has khadûkânakîh, 'unity,' which is a much commoner word, nearly identical with the other in its Pahlavi form.

³ So in the MSS., but it was probably 'true words' originally, so as to complete the triad of thought, word, and deed.

(vêh-sazâk), a scripture (nask) *made* easy¹, a true text (avistâk), ablutions performed, proper rites, undivided, and faultless. 39. Near which fashion, with like abilities, *and* innumerable times, it is very purely solemnized in the abode of the ever-growing fire, then in the abode of the other sacred fires², then in the abodes of Mazda-worshippers *and* other good *people*, *and* then *in* other places pronounced clean. 40. That of the three *days*³ is in the abode of the fire-place which is nearest to that of the departed; the ceremony of the guardian spirits of the righteous⁴ is solemnized in purity there where the dwelling is which is nearest that of the departed whose soul is honoured. 41. And that for victories in war is then *at* its times of battle, the husbandry of Sâm⁵ and other offenders (vinâsagân) who *were* for keeping away husbandry, the household attendant's place for a warrior of another rank, the occasion of the outcry of those not possessing (adârîgân) a lodging, unto the rest of the same temperament (mûnôkô), expressly to produce *and* maintain a proportional resemblance⁶.

¹ That is, learnt by heart.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân.'

³ The three days after a death, during which ceremonies are performed in honour of the angel Srôsh, who is supposed to protect the departed soul from the demons during that period, while it is still hovering about the body (see Chap. XXVIII, 6).

⁴ On the fourth day after a death (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

⁵ That is, Keresâsp the Sâmân (see Chap. XVII, 6); having been a famous warrior his husbandry is said to be battle, the destruction of all ordinary husbandry.

⁶ That is, the ruin of people by war leads them to demand a share of the property of those more fortunate, so as to produce an equality. The whole section seems to be a bitter sarcasm upon the effects of war, representing the generals as cultivators of

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. *As to* the forty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to them* who shall buy corn and keep *it* in store until it shall become dear, *and* shall then sell it at a high price (pavan girân-öih), what is the nature of the decision?

2. The reply is this, that when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem¹ *it* otherwise than due to the eating of the requisite amount (avâyisn) of food for one's self, that which is his controlling impulse (sardârîh), and not the teachings of the worthy *and* good, is the internal instruction which a time of scarcity *has* taught by means of the occurrences during that time²; but clamorous worldly profit is want of diligence (akha-pârakânîh), for they would buy to make people distressed, and in order that they may sell again dearer. 3. Moreover, the store *one* keeps, and keeps as closed even unto the good as unto the bad—*and* though it be necessary for a man of the good *and* worthy, and they beg for *some* of the food, they shall not sell at the price it is worth at that time, on account of *its* becoming dearer—*one* keeps in store unauthorisedly *and* grievously sinfully, *and* every calamity *of* those good people they shall suffer who would not sell it at the price they beg.

slaughter and rapine, with the soldiers as their domestic servants, driving the people into social democracy.

¹ K35 has a blank space for this word, but it is given in M14, and also occurs in a similar phrase in Chap. LIV, 6.

² That is, so long as one does not lay in a store more than sufficient for one's own requirements, it is only an act of prudence taught by former experience.

4. On account of that non-obtainment of corn, or that unlawfully heinous sin, and because of dearness of price it is not proper to give *it* for that non-distribution (an-afsânöih) unto *him* himself, or those under *his* control, or the poor to whom it would be given by him¹; and the distribution (rêshisnö) *which* occurs is then retaliative upon him. 5. And if the corn be spoiled², through keeping too long a time in store, *he* is suffering assault from the hungry *man* (gûrsnö) who is injured even by that damaging (bôdyôzêdih)³ of the corn; if through that unlawful want of preservation (adârisnöh) noxious creatures are associated with the corn, he is overwhelmed also by that heinous sin; *and*, through the profit of improper diligence *he* is unworthy.

6. But if it be necessary for their own people who are under their control, on account of the fear of a time of scarcity, they should buy at their own suitable time, and should afford protection. 7. Or, because of the teachings of the good *and* worthy, they should buy corn at a cheap price from a place where the corn is more than the requirements of the eaters, *and* they should bring *it* unto there where corn is scarce, provided (va hatö) the good *and* those requiring corn are sufficient (vasân). 8. So that, while their information of a scarcity of corn is even

¹ That is, corn is not to be sold to a man who keeps it in store for the purpose of raising the price, nor to his people, nor is it even to be given to the poor whom he relieves, so that he may be compelled to support them out of his own stores, as a penalty.

² Reading tapâhî-ait, as in M14.

³ Literally 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdyôzêd is a technical name for sins whereby animals are ill-treated, or useful property injured (see Sls. II, 39).

from him himself to whom the price would become profit¹, or *is* the persistence of *these* same teachings of the good—so that it may become more abundant unto them than unto the bad, even in the time of scarcity *when* it is very much raised in price²—they should buy corn *at* a cheap price during an excess of corn, so that *one* may keep *it* until the time of a period of scarcity. 9. When *there* occurs a necessity for it *among* the good he sells *it* at *such* price as *one* buys it at that time, that is, the market price (*arg-i shatrôik*)³; by that means, in a season of scarcity, much more is obtained in price, *and* it becomes more plentiful among the good; then a more invigorating (*padîkhûinagtar*) praise of him is commendable.

10. And, yet, as regards that which is suitable profit—and also apart from the eating of corn, *from* anything eatable for the maintenance of life, *from* medicine and remedies for the healthfulness of life, and *from* whatever is for the preservation of life—it is allowable *that* they shall buy *and* shall sell dear⁴.

CHAPTER L.

1. The forty-ninth question is that you ask thus: *If* they should sell wine unto foreigners and infidels what is then the decision *about* it?

¹ And, therefore, likely to be correct, as it is given in opposition to his own interest.

² M14 has 'begged at a price,' by inserting a stroke.

³ Without holding it back for an exorbitant rise in prices.

⁴ That is, there is no harm in speculating upon prices, except in the case of necessities of life.

2. The reply is this, that *there* is very vehement danger of grievous sin, and it would be an evil occupation. 3. But if through the operation of that wine-selling of theirs the wine is kept more away from those who become worse through immoderate drinking of wine, *and* comes to those who drink wine in moderation¹—*whom* they cause to become better through drinking the wine—more than when they shall not practise that selling of the wine, then through that selling of theirs the power which is in the wealth², by their keeping away of which a man is confirmed (*paḍayññā*) in the good religion and diverted from going into infidelity, the progress of sin is impeded *and* good works are promoted, becomes the assistance of the good and protection of religion, the hindrance of sin and aid of good works, which, when they shall not practise that wine-selling, do not arise, *and* which are much more promoted than the various sins that might have arisen from the unlawfully drinking of wine. 4. Or, otherwise, the greater decision—and great are the good works which are assured therein—is thus: ‘They who shall sell wine³ to foreigners, infidels, and others from whom unlawful conduct arises through drunkenness, *act* very sinfully and not authorisedly.’

¹ That is, when the supply of wine is so limited that by selling it to moderate drinkers they keep it away from drunkards.

² The wealth they acquire by selling wine, which would have produced evil in the hands of the buyers, and ought to produce good in their own.

³ K₃₅ has *vinâs*, ‘sin,’ instead of *âs*, ‘wine,’ which is clearly wrong.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fiftieth question is that which you ask thus: *As to one* of the good religion who drinks wine immoderately, and loss *and* injury happen to him owing to that immoderate drinking, what is then the decision about him? 2. And how is the measure of wine-drinking *which* when they drink is then authorised for them?

3. The reply is this, that whoever through the influence of opportunity drinks wine immoderately, *and* is adult and intelligent, through every loss *and* injury which thereupon come to him from that immoderate drinking, or *which* occasion anything unto any one, is then his causing such pollution to the creatures, in his own pleurably¹ varied modes, that the shame owing to it is a help (dastak1h) out of that affliction. 4. And even *he* who gives wine authorisedly² unto any one, and he is thereby intoxicated by it, is equally guilty of every sin which that drunkard commits owing to that drunkenness.

5. And concerning that drunkenness, what is said is that that is to be eaten *through* which, when *one* eats *it*, *one* thinks better, speaks better, and acts

¹ K₃₅ has a blank space here for a word, but no word seems really necessary. M₁₄ fills up the blank by changing *gvīdō* into *gardīnīdō*, and reads 'converted unto his own pleasure, and the mode,' &c.

² M₁₄ has 'unauthorisedly,' a very natural emendation of the text as it stands in K₃₅, but it does not appear that the author intended to limit the responsibility of the person giving the wine merely to those cases in which his action would be quite unjustifiable.

better; and such even is the food *by* which, through *having* drunk wine, *one* becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought, word, and deed. 6. When an experiment as regards its *being* good is tried, so that *having* drunk it in that proportion *one* becomes better, or does not become worse, then it is allowable to drink *it*.

7. When an untried *person*, for the sake of *being* tried, *has* drunk a mingled portion, first of one drinking-cup¹, secondly of two drinking-cups, and thirdly of three drinking-cups, and through drinking *it* he becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought², word, or deed, *he* is to increase the drinking-cups, and the experiment is allowable unto those tested just so far as the proportion is *such* that he becomes better, or does not become worse.

8. To those tested *it* is authorisedly *given* to that amount through which the experimenting that is mentioned *has* extended; and to *him* who *it* is proved will become worse through the drinking of wine, that amount, through the drinking of which, *when* given³ in the experiment, *it was* seen that he became worse, is not authorisedly given.

9. In a case of doubt *one* is to consider *him* who *is* orthodox (hû-dînô), who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, and *is* of good repute, whose drunkenness

¹ Reading âv gâmakö, 'water-cup;' but it is written like âv sîmakö in the MSS.

² K₃₅ has mân, M₁₄ mînisnô.

³ Reading yehabûntô instead of the unintelligible gân bûdô of K₃₅, the alteration being merely lengthening the bottom stroke of the Pahl. b. M₁₄ substitutes barâ yehevûnêd for bûdô gân bûdô, which gives the following meaning: 'through the drinking of which, in the experiment, *it is* seen that he becomes thoroughly worse.'

is not manifest, in this *way*, that he drinks as much wine as *was* tried by him when he became no worse *by drinking it*. 10. It is necessary to consider *him* whose religion is unseen, whose religion is wrong, and him who is a child furnished even with the realities of religion, in this *way*, that he becomes worse through *having* drunk wine. 11. When *apart* from the decision there is no assignable (*bangisnik*) reason as regards *it*, the share of wine which they gave not authorisedly who themselves drank wine, *one* considers as *some of* the wine on *its being* given more authorisedly¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. *As to* the fifty-first question *and* reply, that *which* you ask is thus: *There is* a man who hands over a dirham² as regards five bushels (*kafiz*) of

¹ The meaning appears to be that, when there is no special reason to the contrary, the quantity of wine one may have already drunk elsewhere is to be considered as part of one's allowance.

² The dirham (*δραχμή*) is a weight, and also a silver coin of that weight, but its amount is rather uncertain. According to the Pers. MS. M5 (fol. 55), written A.D. 1723, the proper dowry for a 'privileged' wife is 2000 dirhams of white silver, or 2300 rūpīs, and 2 dirhams of red gold, or 2¼ tolas. The rūpīs formerly current in Gugarât were less in value than the present Indian coinage, but the tola, which is the weight of the present rūpī, was probably much the same as it is now, or 180 grains; the statement in M5 is, therefore, equivalent to saying that the dirham contained 202 grains of pure silver. This is so much more than the amount deducible from other authorities that it might be supposed that the *stīr* (*στατήρ*) or tetradrachm was meant, if it were not confirmed, to some extent, by the Pers. Rivâyats, which state the dowry at 2000 dirhams of pure white silver and 2 dīnārs of red gold of the Nishâpūr currency; the dīnār being a gold coin containing a dirham weight of pure

wheat, thus: 'I give this to thee as an instalment (bôn-ae)¹ of five bushels of wheat at the end of a month;' and during the month, *and* at *its* end, those five bushels of wheat become five *times* the price; would they authorisedly seize the five bushels of wheat *when* winnowed (pêkhtō kar dō) by him, through that instalment which he handed over, or not?

2. The reply is this, that when they who shall take his dirham *have* to intrust the five bushels of wheat, unsuspectingly *and* by their own will, *to him* to winnow, even so as *they* are advisedly *and* unsuspectingly winnowed by him they should take *them* just as winnowed; *this* is the decision authorisedly given. 3. But when *it* is winnowed by him on account of very grievous necessity for payment, *it* is more suitable for the soul to beg the giver of the money, who is the purchasing payer², for *some* of that excess of undivided (apâr) profit. 4. For *he* *has* to consider the profit of *his* successors as among the profit of money on the spot³—*when* more than

gold. It is safer, however, to rely upon the average weight of the Sasanian dirham coins, which, according to Dr. Mordtmann's statement in ZDMG. vol. xii, pp. 44, 45, is about 63 grains, or 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ annas' worth of silver; so that the stîr would be 252 grains or 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ annas. But the actual value of such coins of former times can be ascertained only from the quantity of corn, or other well-defined necessary of life, which they would purchase.

¹ K₃₅ has vaban twice in this sentence, but bôn in § 4. M₁₄ alters this word and others, so as to make the chapter unintelligible. The money is supposed to be given merely as a deposit, in acknowledgment of a bargain to be carried out after the corn is ready for delivery.

² Reading zednunand dūkhtâr, but, perhaps, this is a corruption of zednûnînidâr, 'a causer of purchase, a broker.'

³ That is, 'ready money.'

such instalment demanded—and not as a fresh carrying off of a gift¹.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. *As to the fifty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: If people of the good religion, in their country or out of their country, shall buy and sell with those of a different religion as regards cattle, or shall lay hold of traders (vanīkgarān) and shall sell to them, what is then the decision about it?* 2. *When those of the good religion shall not buy, as they have not come up to the price, but the orthodox dealers shall sell to traders and those of a different religion, what is then the decision about it?* 3. *And about him, of whom the means of existence (zīvisnō mindavam) are such, what is then the decision?*

4. *The reply is this, that it would be very grievously sinful, and it would be an evil occupation to transact such business through the influence of opportunity, and to seek profit unauthorisedly in that manner.*

5. *But if it be the means of existence of those of the good religion of whom you have written, and they are not able to seek it in any other business and proper occupation which would be a less sinful means of existence, complete² purchasers who have acquired*

¹ That is, having made a bargain, he is not to be aggrieved at any unexpected excess of profit made in good faith by the other parties to the bargain; a rather high standard of commercial morality.

² The word is pūr, but it may be suspected of being a blunder, as tōrâ, 'ox,' would be a more likely word.

the good religion shall sell unto those of the good religion¹; because it is possible for him *to be* less sinful *to* whom *it* is allowable to beg the life of a comrade, for still the rule *of* a righteous man, with the righteous who are in his guardianship, is to live. 6. So it is possible, when they shall sell cattle for slaughter *and* foreign eating, many cattle—amounting even to a diminution of the maintenance of Irân—are more wretched than a righteous man forced to kill *them* through a living becoming unobtainable *and* the fear of death.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. *As to* the fifty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: A man whose wife, daughters, sisters, and relations are many, and *who* is the master of much wealth, becomes sick, *and* during the sickness *has* given this hoard of wealth unto one daughter. 2. And his other sisters and daughters are not contented therewith, *and* speak thus: 'This wealth ought *to have been* given during health and consciousness, not during sickness; and now it should not be allowable to give anything whatever unto any one during sickness, for if anything happens² the wealth all comes back for division amongst *us*.' 3. Would it be allowable to give anything whatever of that wealth to any one, during sickness, or not?

¹ Who would not be likely to kill the animal, and with whom they could come to an understanding as to its good treatment, so as to avoid the sin of *bôdyôzêdîh* (see Chap. XLIX, 5 n).

² *M14* has 'if he gives anything.'

4. Is it necessary¹ *for* one of such wife, daughters, and sisters as *there* happen *to be* to appoint an adopted son for that man, because of that wealth, or not?
5. Are the wife, daughters, and sisters who shall take their share of the wealth responsible for² the religious rites of every kind, and is it necessary for them to order the annual ceremonies for that man at the daily and yearly *periods*, or not³?

6. The reply is this, that, when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem *him* otherwise than a man in sickness *and* nearly passing away, *it* is not allowable to give *it* up, except when *it* is for his debts, or his wife *and* children, or an aged *person* (zarmân) or father who is in *his* guardianship—whom it is indispensably necessary to maintain—*and* is such as, or as much as, is discreetly requisite for payment of the debt, or *for* the food, maintenance, *and* protection of those that I *have* written *about*; then, *however*, *it* is allowable to give it up away (bîrûnõ) from those of whom *you* *have* written, as much as during his consciousness.

7. In other sickness, not while passing away, whatever is given up by him himself during consciousness is allowable; when *he* is not conscious *it* is not allowable. 8. And on that which he says during unconsciousness *one* is not reliant and *it* is not credible (vâvar); *but* that which *he* says during

¹ K₃₅ has 'is it not necessary,' by using lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'for,' which latter reading is adopted in the text from M₁₄, but it is doubtful which reading is the better one. The same variation occurs in § 5.

² Literally 'are the rites on their necks.'

³ Ceremonies for the dead have to be performed on the first four days, the tenth day, and then at the end of a month and a year from the time of death (see Sls. XVII, 5).

consciousness, and that, too, which the same man gave unto a daughter when he was ill, if given by him consciously, are even then proceedings to be granted; if given by him during unconsciousness it is just as though he died without an opportunity of speaking (*avâng-pîrûz*)¹.

9. Of the property left by will², one share is needful for each separate daughter for whom a husband is not provided, *and* two shares for a wife *who* may be a privileged *one*³; *and* so long as the wife is living *she* exists as the house-mistress of the family; moreover, it is not needful to appoint an

¹ For this uncommon word *M14* substitutes *avik-andarz*, 'intestate;' but the meaning is that the gift is as invalid as if he had been unable to make a declaration of his intentions.

² *Levatman andarz* in *K35*, but *M14* has *avik andarz*, 'without a will,' which, at first sight, appears the more plausible reading (especially as *avik*, 'without,' is written very much like *avâk*, 'with,' the *Pâz.* synonym of *levatman*). But on further consideration it seems equally probable that this section is intended to limit the power of a testator, so as to prevent him from dividing so much of his property as he leaves to his family in any unfair manner. The rule here laid down would, of course, also apply in cases of intestacy when the testator has no son; and is that given in the Persian *Rivâyats*.

³ This does not imply that a man might have more wives than one, but that wives are of five classes, according to the circumstances of the marriage. A *pâdakhshah* or 'privileged' wife is one who was a maiden married with the consent of her parents who have another child. A *yûkan* or 'only-child' wife differs from the last merely by being an only child, and having, therefore, to give up her first child to her parents. A *satar* or 'adopted' wife is one who was a maiden enabled to marry by receiving a dowry from the relatives of a man who has died unmarried, on condition that half of her children shall belong to the deceased. A *âakar* or 'serving' wife is a widow who marries again. A *khûd-sarâi* or 'self-disposing' wife is one who marries without her parents' consent (see *Bd. XXXII, 6 n*).

adopted son (*satôr*), for the adopted son's duty (*satôrih*) remains with her, *and* she manages to claim guardianship for the family from some man out of the relatives most nearly allied. 10. Out of the portion of the property for food and maintenance the wife should provide the daughters with husbands; and to keep going the necessities in the guardianship, the nurture which the *deceased* man afforded, *and* the ceremonies *and* good works imposed upon the family, *and* thereby become indispensable, *she* herself is to take lapfuls and armfuls¹ out of the income (*bar*).

11. *As to* the sisters of that man, if they have been necessarily in his guardianship, even as to nourishment, and there is no property for them in *any* other way, their food and maintenance are also needful to be out of the income of the property, unless² that man *has otherwise* devised, or the appointment of a husband is not provided on account of the non-subjection (*lôitö airih*) *in which* they have been unto the guardianship of that man, or anything else opposed to it, so that nothing whatever of the property of that man is needful for them.

12. He who is a husband of *one of* the daughters is a leader in the management (*dastôbarih*) of the family, *but with* the concurrence of the house-mistress of the family, and *even* so when the action *is one* which they should not do, and his son is not born, *or* becomes passing *away*³.

¹ Literally 'the bosom size and arm size,' a Pahlavi idiom for 'plenty.'

² In the Pahlavi text this latter half of the section precedes the foregoing provisional clauses.

³ The meaning seems to be that so long as he has no son (who

13. *As to a daughter not provided with a husband, should the one whose husband is not provided be an only child¹, to keep her subject also to the house-mistress of the family it is needful for her that there should be an adopted son in it; and when they shall appoint her husband unto the adopted-sonship the property then comes over into his possession.*

14. When the house-mistress of the family passes away, and the daughters are provided with husbands, the adopted-sonship is to be appointed.

CHAPTER LV.

1. *As to the fifty-fourth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the occupation and capacity (giriftârîh) of the person that has to preserve those who are in their three nights' trials², and who is he?*

2. The reply is this, that it is said a husband (gabrâ) is indispensable for preservation through the three nights' trials which shall be for a privileged wife, a father for those of a child, and a master for those of a servant.

would be a member of the family in direct descent through his mother) he can only assist and advise the widow, but on the birth of his son he can act more authoritatively, as the representative of the child.

¹ Written aêvôk-aê in Pâzand. She becomes a yûkan or 'only-child' wife (see § 9 n) until she has given up her first child to her mother, after which she is a 'privileged' wife.

² The three nights after death (see Chap. XXIV).

CHAPTER LVI.

1. *As to* the fifty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this adopted-sonship *and* guardianship of the family, and what does it become; *in* what manner is it necessary to appoint *it*, whence is it necessary to provide food and clothing for it, and how is it necessary to be *for* it?

2. The reply is this, that the adopted-sonship is thus:—It is requisite whenever a man of the good religion is passing *away*, while *he is* a complete ruler of a numerous household¹, who has no wife and child that may be privileged² and acknowledged, *nor* associating brother, *nor* son by adoption, and his property is sixty stirs³ of income. 3. The controlling (khûdâyînag) of the property is to be publicly provided *out* of the kindred of the deceased, and is called the adopted-sonship; and he is to be appointed to it who is the nearest of the same lineage (min ham-nâfân), who *will* manage *and* keep the property united in its entirety.

¹ Reading vad marak khân shah bundakõ, but the phrase can also be read vad malkâân shah bandakõ, 'while *he is* a servant of the king of kings (that is, a subject of the Irânian sovereign),' which is evidently the reading adopted by M14 in Chap. LVII, 2, where it substitutes the Huz. synonym malkâ for shah, but here the word shah is uncertain. This ambiguous phrase can also be read vad mark-âhangihâ bundakõ, 'while the agonies of death are complete.'

² See Chap. LIV, 9.

³ About 84 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n); but the actual value of such an income depends upon the value of silver at that time, or, in other words, upon the prices of the necessaries of life.

4. The guardianship of a family is that when a guardian *has* to be appointed in that manner over the family of a man whose wife¹, or daughter, or infant son is not fit for their own guardianship, so it is necessary to appoint *some one*. 5. And it is necessary to appoint the adopted son *and* the family guardianship at *such* time as may be convenient to them; and when the man passes *away* as *I have* written it is necessary to appoint at such period as *I have* written, and to neglect *it* temporarily, even the length of a year, would not be authorised.

6. *Fit* for adoption is a grown-up sister who is not adopted in another family², then a brother's daughter, then a brother's son, *and* then the other nearest relatives. 7. *Fit* for the family guardianship is first the father of the serving wife (*kagar*)³, then a brother, then a daughter, and then the other nearest relations; among brothers he who is the eldest (*mas*) among *them* is the fittest.

8. The food *and* clothing of a wife that may be privileged—who is the house-mistress of the family, and is one kind of adopted son—*of* a living infant son till he becomes grown up, *and of* a daughter of the family while she is in the guardianship of the family guardians⁴, are out of the property of the family so long as it exists for the purpose.

9. *It has* become the custom *that* the lapfuls *and*

¹ Because she is not a privileged wife, but a serving one (see Chap. LIV, 9), as appears from § 7.

² A woman or child cannot be adopted by more than one family (see Chap. LVII, 3). The case under consideration is that mentioned in § 2, when the deceased leaves no wife, child, or brother.

³ Referring to the case assumed in § 4.

⁴ That is, till she is married.

armfuls¹ of the family guardian are every month four stirs of, it may be, sixteen², which is the disbursement (andâzîsnö), for food, clothing, medicine, *and* shelter, out of the income (bar), or out of the capital (bûn), of the property which remains in the family, by a perfect³ wife when she is capable—such as the former house-mistress—so as want of nourishment (atafdâdö) may not come nakedly and unlawfully upon them.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. *As to* the fifty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who is suitable *for* adoption, *and* who is not suitable?

2. The reply is this, that a grown-up man of the good religion who is intelligent, a complete ruler of a numerous household⁴, expecting offspring, *and* not *having sins* worthy of death is suitable for adoption; even when he has accepted either one adoption, or many adoptions, he is then still suitable for another adoption. 3. And a grown-up woman, *or* even a child, is suitable for one adoption, *but* when adopted in one family she is not suitable for another adoption.

¹ That is, an ample remuneration (see Chap. LIV, 10).

² So the sentence may be literally translated, but it is not quite certain that this is the meaning intended, as the language used is very involved. This would imply that the family guardian is entitled to one-fourth of the family expenditure.

³ It is doubtful what noun is to be connected with the adjective pûr; perhaps we should read 'full disbursement' in the foregoing part of the sentence, and omit the word 'perfect' here.

⁴ M₁₄ has malkâânö malkâ bôndak, 'a servant of the king of kings;' but see Chap. LVI, 2.

4. A woman requiring a husband—though a complete worshipper—or a foreigner, or an infidel, or *one* having *sins* worthy of death, is unfit for adoption; so also those who are demon-worshippers, she who is a concubine (shûsar nêsmān) *or* courtesan, *and* she who is menstruous are unfit.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How many kinds of family guardianship and adoption are *there*?

2. The reply is this, that it is said *there* are three kinds, which are the existent, the provided, and the appointed. 3. An adopted son who is existent is such as a wife who may be privileged, *or* an only daughter is a kind of adopted son owing to confidence in herself, such as happens when there is no wife, *and* a daughter for whom there is no husband, *and* none is provided, is the one *that* has remained.

4. An adopted son *who* is provided is such as a son that is acknowledged, who is accepted by one's self¹, and *free* from *being* appointed, or *from* necessity².

5. And an adopted son who is appointed is he who is to be appointed among the relations who are suitable for adoption—and are nearest to him who is to be appointed *as* adopted son—and the ministers (padân) of religion, *and* he performs the duty of

¹ That is, adopted during the man's lifetime.

² Reading ayûf nîyâsô, but it may be ayûfô êyâvô, 'or from discovery.'

family guardianship¹; he who is the appointed *one* is he who is appointed by the men *who are* the nearest relations (nabânazdistânö) on account of proximity.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. *As to* the fifty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: For how much property is it then necessary to appoint an adopted son?

2. The reply is this, that when the property which *has* remained his for whom it is necessary to appoint an adopted son is as much as sixty stirs² of income, *it* is then indispensable to appoint an adopted son for him. 3. Even when *it* is less they should recognise him whose adoption is needful, *and who* conducts an adopted son's duty; and, similarly, an adoption is to be appointed for him, though it may not come as a possession unto him who is fittest for adoption.

CHAPTER LX.

1. *As to* the fifty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the sin owing to not appointing *an adopted son*?

2. The reply is this, that *for the man* himself *it* is allowable when he gives up all the property in

¹ M14 has 'an existent family guardianship is *in* the son of him appointed, and a provided *one* is that when he himself performs the duty in the guardianship;' but the phrase interpolated is hardly grammatical.

² About 84 rūpîs (see Chap. LVI, 2).

righteous gifts, *and* when he has no property they should not provide an adopted-sonship for him, *and* his relations are innocent as regards it. 3. But should they recognise him who has the adopted-sonship of the deceased, or has accepted the position of his adopted-sonship¹, *or* should they have seized the property for the adopted-sonship *in order* to appoint an acting adopted son (*satôrgar*), *and* he conducts the adopted-sonship, and throws away *both* the portion (*bôn*) provided for disbursement (*vi-shôpö*) and the entirety, and quite destroys the property, and thoroughly ruins the adopted-sonship, though, on account of not restraining him, it is said *to be* a sin worthy of death for *every* single dirham, it is not said *they are* killed outright².

CHAPTER LXI.

1. *As to* the sixtieth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the propriety *and* impropriety, the merit *and* demerit, of family guardianship?

2. The reply is this, that the merit is the appointment *and* recognition of him who accomplishes more worthily the greater benefit; the demerit is *as to*

¹ M₁₄ has 'or any one who has accepted the adoption as an adoption.'

² The meaning appears to be that, though, owing to their misplaced confidence and neglect, they have been guilty of many mortal sins, they are not liable to capital punishment. It is evident that the writer had no apprehension that any property would lie neglected through want of administration, but that he had considerable doubts of the prudence and honesty of administrators.

him who is unworthy, or him whose worthiness is not appointed to avert a lesser benefit and the ruining of a worthy adoption. 3. Nearer details (khûrdakö) of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son's duty, of the child of good religion with whose business *it* is connected, *and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five chapters (fragardö) of the Hûspârûm *Nask*¹, and *in* the abstracts (giriftaköîhâ) of the good ideas in various scriptures (naskö) in which many decisions are together.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. *As to* the sixty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: How stand the shares in the inheritance (mîrâtö) of property among those of the good religion, and how is it necessary for them to stand therein?

2. The reply is this, that in the possession of wealth the wealth reaches higher *or* lower, just like water when it goes in a stream on a declivity, but when the passage shall be closed at the bottom it goes back on the running water (pûy-âvö), *and* then it does not go to its after-course².

¹ The seventeenth book of the complete Mazda-worshipping literature, whose sixty-four sections are described in detail in the *Dînkard* (see Sls. X, 21). The five chapters here mentioned were evidently in that one of the last fourteen sections which is said to have consisted of six chapters on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c.

² This metaphor seems to mean that property, like water, always

3. When there is nothing *otherwise* in the will and private¹, property *goes* to a wife *or* daughter² who is privileged; if *one* gives her anything by will then she does not obtain the share (dâs) *pertaining* to her³. 4. Whenever⁴ a share for a son is not provided by it, every one *has* so much and the wife who may be a privileged *one has* twice as much; and the share of that *one* of the sons⁵, *or* even the wife of a son, who is blind in both eyes, or crippled⁶ in both feet, or maimed in both his hands, is twice as much as that *of one* who is sound.

5. And *it* is needful *that* he who *was* in the father's guardianship *shall* remain in guardianship, as when a father or mother is decrepit and causing awe (kagarin), or *of* a nurture different from that of the guardian⁷—or a child of his brother or sister, or a father, or *one*⁸ without nurture apart from him, is

descends until it meets with an obstruction to its downward progress in the shape of the nearest descendants, but, when once in their possession, it can again ascend (like the dammed stream) for the support of the survivors of an older generation (see § 5).

¹ Or, it may be 'in the provisions (vîyagân) of the will;' or, by omitting two strokes, we have simply 'otherwise (hân) in the will.'

² That is, they have a share of the property when there are other next of kin. M14 adds, 'and they should provide a living son as father and husband unless privileged,' referring to the necessity of adoption when there is no son and the wife is not a privileged one.

³ It being assumed that the will provides as much as is intended for any one whom it mentions.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who,' which words are often confounded because their Pâz. equivalents are nearly identical.

⁵ M14 has 'daughters.'

⁶ Armêst probably means literally 'most immovable.'

⁷ M14 omits this last clause.

⁸ M14 has 'mother.'

without a guardian—the ready guardianship of a capable man, and the shelter *and* nourishment *that have* become inadequate¹ are as indispensably forthcoming² from the possessors of wealth, of those who *have* taken the property, as that *taking* was indispensable³.

6. If *there* be no son of that *man*, but there be a daughter or wife of his, and if *some* of the *affairs*⁴ of the man are such as render a woman not suitable for the guardianship, it is necessary to appoint a family guardian; if there be, moreover, no wife *or* daughter of his it is necessary to appoint an adopted son. 7. This—that is, when it is necessary to appoint a family guardian *and* who is the fittest, *and* when it is necessary to appoint an adopted son *and* which is the fittest—is written in the chapters *on* the question⁵.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-second question is that which you ask thus: Would they authorisedly carry off any property whatever from foreigners and infidels, or not?

2. The reply is this, that wealth and property and anything that foreigners (an-airânö) possess and is carried off by them from the good with violence, *and which through* obstinacy they do not give back

¹ Literally 'not issuing.'

² M14 has 'are thus forthcoming.'

³ M14 has 'or *have* become indispensable to it.'

⁴ Or, it may be '*dependents*;' the text is merely *va hatö min zak-î gabrâ*.

⁵ See Chaps. LVI-LIX.

when it is proper, it is well allowable in that case *that* they should seize from the foreigners. 3. So long as *it* is the lawful order of the procurator of its owners¹ *it* is allowable for a just decider to consider properly, and to demand authoritatively the sending of interest (sûdō) thereon for himself. 4. But *if* they proceed in their obstinacy *he* is sent to come *up* with them in obstinacy, not to dissemble with them².

5. *It is* the custom to give an infidel (ak-dînô), who is not a foreigner, food, clothing, *and* medicine, when his renunciation (vâz) has come, for keeping away matters (kisânö) of death and sickness owing to hunger *and* thirst, cold and heat; but wealth, horses, accoutrements, wine, *and* land are not given authorisedly, it is said, unto foreigners *and* idolators³.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. *As to* the sixty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Whence *was* the first creation of mankind, and how was the formation of the original race of men? 2. What issued from Gâyô-mard⁴, *and* what did it really become; *and* from what have Mashyâih *and* Mashyâyôih⁵ arisen?

3. The reply is this, that Aûharmazd, the all-

¹ Reading vad zak amatas khûdâyân ayâvî-aîtâr far-mân-î dâdîk. The form of ayâvî-aîtâr has not yet been met with elsewhere, but it seems to mean 'one who holds the obtainment,' though whether as agent or officer of justice is uncertain.

² M14 has merely 'but should they proceed in their obstinacy, to come with them is not to dissemble.'

³ Literally 'demon-worshippers.'

⁴ See Chap. II, 10.

⁵ The same as the Marhayâ and Marhîyôih of Chap. XXXVII, 82.

ruling, produced from the endless light the shape of a fire-priest (âsrûkō) whose name *was* that of Aûhar-mazd, and *its* brilliance that of fire; *its* incombustibility was like *that* inside the light, and *its* expansion like the western (khûrbarag) land. 4. And in the shape of the fire-priest *was* created by him the material existence (stih) *that* is called man, and *for* three thousand years¹, when it did not progress and did not eat, it did not speak; likewise, it did not utter, but it thought of, the righteousness of the perfect and true religion, the desire for the pure glorification of the creator.

5. Afterwards, the contentious promise-breaker² injured the life of it, and produced a burdensome mortality; and the mortality is *clear* from the appellation, Gâyômarđ³, of the nature produced. 6. The seed which *was* the essence of the life of the leader (mîrakō) of life, who *was* Gâyômarđ, flowed forth on *his* passing away, came on to the earth of the beneficent angel⁴, and is preserved in the earth until, through the protection of the angels, a brother and

¹ This is the second of the four periods of three thousand years of which time is said to be composed (see Chap. XXXVII, 111 n). The 'shape of the fire-priest' is one of the spiritual creations of the first period, in which shape man was created during the second period, and this primeval man became Gâyômarđ (that is, 'a living mortal') through the persecution of the evil spirit (see § 5) at the commencement of the third period. The first two steps of this creation are not described in the text of the Bundahis known to Europeans.

² The evil spirit, who is said to be the origin of falsehood (see Chap. XXXVII, 111).

³ Which means 'the living mortal,' or 'the mortal living one.'

⁴ The female archangel Spendar-mazd, who has special charge of the earth. Or the phrase may be 'came on to the earth which the beneficent *spirit* produced.'

- sister of mankind¹, connected together, have grown from it, *have* attained to movement *and* walking upon the earth, *and* have advanced even to intercourse and also procreation.

7. The ground where the life of Gâyômarđ departed is gold, *and* from the other land, where the dissolution of *his* various members occurred, as many kinds of decorative metals flowed forth it is said².

CHAPTER LXV.

1. *As to* the sixty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Where *and* from what did the origin of race, *which* they say *was* next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûdâdô)³, arise; and from what place did it arise?

¹ The Mashyâih and Mashyâyôih, or man and woman, of § 2, who are said to have grown up, in the course of forty years, connected together in the shape of a plant; but, after a breathing soul had entered them, they became human beings, and fifty years later they began to be the progenitors of mankind (see Bd. XV, 1-30).

² Zs. X, 2 states that eight kinds of metal arose from the various members of the dead Gâyômarđ, namely, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and adamant.

³ Usually written khvêtûk-das (Av. *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, or to, one's own'). It is a term applied to marriages between near relations, and is extolled as specially meritorious. For centuries past the Parsis have understood it to refer to marriages between first cousins, and all allusions to marriage between nearer relations they attribute to the practices of heretics (see Sls. XVIII, 4 n); though, like the professors of all other religions, they must admit the necessity of such a practice in the first family of mankind, as detailed in the text. Translations of other passages relating to the subject will be found in Appendix III, and it is also mentioned in Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXXVII, 6, and LXXVIII, 19.

2. The reply is this, that the first consummation of next-of-kin marriage was owing to that *which* Mashyâih and Mashyâyôih¹ did, who were brother and sister together, and their consummation of intercourse produced a son² as a consummation of the first next-of-kin marriage. 3. So that they effected the first intercourse of man with woman, *and* the entire progress of the races of every kind of lineage of men arose from that, *and* all the men *of* the world are of that race.

4. It is truly said, that it was the joy of the lord *and* creator after the creation of the creatures, and, owing to that, its consummation, which *was* his complete accomplishment of the existence of the creatures (dâmânih), was owing to him. 5. And its occurrence, too, is in evidence that the creator, who is so with unflinching (at ôrâk) will, is as much *the cause of* the begetting and entire progress of his own perfect creatures³, in whom begetting is by destiny, as Hôshâng⁴ by whom two-thirds⁵ of the demons *were* smitten, Tâkhmôrup⁶ who overturned Aharman through the power of the angels, Yim by

¹ See Chap. LXIV, 2. The names are here written Mashyêih and Mashyâyôih.

² Twins, according to Bd. XV, 22, 24.

³ That is, he is not only the original creator, but also the perpetual promoter of the increase and progress of the creation, as much as those who appear to be such promoters, though merely acting as his agents.

⁴ Here written Hôshyâng. For the Av. names of these four primeval monarchs, see Chap. II, 10 n.

⁵ K₃₅ has 'three-thirds,' but see Âbân Yt. 22, Râm Yt. 8, Zam-yâd Yt. 26.

⁶ He is said to have subjugated the evil spirit, and to have used him as a steed for thirty years (see Chaps. II, 10, XXXVII, 35).

whom order *was* arranged and death *was* driven away (avakâldö)¹, Frêdûn *who* fettered Az-î Dahâk² and stripped his blaspheming (nîrangâk) from the world, and the many princes (kayân) and high-priests of grave spirit *who* were, *and* are, *and will* be.

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. *As to* the sixty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man of wealth of the good religion who fully intends to order a *celebration of all the rites* of his religion; and a priest of it, to whom the five chapters (fragardö) of the Avesta ('text') of the correct law of the Nîrangistân ('religious-formula code')³ are easy through the Zand ('commentary'), is ever progressing in priestly manhood (magôî-gabrâih). 2. And he (the man) goes unto him, and he (the priest) speaks thus: 'All the religious rites are *performed* for 350 *dirhams*⁴, as a gift always given beforehand by them *who* give the order unto me, so that I *may* come to *them*.'

3. A man of the disciples⁵, to whom the five

¹ He is said to have kept away cold and heat, decay and death, and other evils from the earth (see Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33).

² See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

³ This was the name of one of the first thirty sections of the Hûspârûm Nask (see Chap. LXI, 3), and a portion of it, containing the Pahlavi commentary (or Zand) of three chapters, with many Avesta quotations, is still extant.

⁴ The word *gûganö*, 'dirham,' is here omitted, but occurs in §§ 16, 20. The sum of 350 dirhams would be about 122½ rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁵ That is, those who are still learning their priestly duties (see Chap. XLV).

sections (vidag) of the Avesta are easy, and nothing whatever of its Zand is easy¹, then says unto him—unto that man who intends to order all the religious rites—thus: ‘For this gift I will conduct all the religious rites for thee twice, with the appliances in the land of Pârs², shouldst thou give the order unto me. 4. For it is quite possible for me to pray so many sections through my own exertion (dastö), *but* for him³ it is necessary to order again of an officiating priest (pavan zôtakö), who is himself not able to pray any section, *or* does not himself pray; and it is not necessary for him to go for the control (parvâr)⁴ of all the religious rites when a stipend (bâhar) is the one consideration within him, *and* the matter is *that* he⁵ *may* receive again. 5. *He* who *has* always himself prayed is better than he who shall accept readily *and* orders *the work* again, and is not able to pray it himself, when a fulfilment is tedious to him; when *it* is I who⁶ receive, I always pray myself better than he who would accept readily *and* orders again, and it brings on my business to a *closing* point.’

6. The priestly man speaks thus: ‘The considera-

¹ It being far easier to learn the Avesta by heart than to understand its meaning by aid of the Pahlavi commentary; a competent knowledge of the latter being sought only by advanced disciples, and rarely attained by any but the most learned priests.

² Reading pavan bûm-î Pârs, as in § 15; K35 has here pavan bûn-frâs, ‘for opening the beginning,’ which might be understood to refer to the preliminary ceremonies for preparing the ceremonial apparatus, if the phrase were not otherwise written elsewhere. In § 21 K35 has pavan bûn-î Pârs.

³ K35 omits the last letter of valman.

⁴ Or, it may be ‘to the precincts.’

⁵ Literally ‘I.’

⁶ Reading li mûn, instead of lanman, ‘we.’

tion of stipend is more necessary to arise *with* me than¹ other men, owing to the position of religion, not the other portion (*sânö*) of all religious rites; therefore, it is more authorisedly received *and* conducted by me when I accept readily and again intrust *the work*; but I direct so that they pray thoroughly, and it brings on much business to its *closing* point; moreover, *if* I seize upon it, even then I should be authorised, for this is the stipend of religion.'

7. Should they seize this that is authorisedly theirs, or not? *And is it* the custom of a man who is frequently ordering all the religious rites to reduce his gift for the ceremonial, or not?

8. Order *some one* to decide for us clearly, when they do not dispute the gift *for* the ceremonial, or *when* they do dispute *it*, how is then its great advantage; *and* the harmfulness that exists therein, in many ways *and* many modes, when they give an insufficient gift for the ceremonial. 9. Is the property which is given up as a gift for the ceremonial—so long as it thus becomes the remuneration which *one* gives to a receiver of remuneration (*mozdô-bar*)—that property which they can seize? 10. And is the work which is done, *or* deputed, and its great advantage, more than they would perform when, in the period of the evil millenniums², they diminish the gift for the ceremonial; *and* in how many modes

¹ Reading *li min*, instead of the imperfect word *lanm*.

² Of the twelve millenniums of time, mentioned in Chap. XXXVII, *11 n*, the most evil one is said to have been that in which the author lived, the millennium of *Hûshêdar* (about A.D. 600-1600 according to the chronology of *Bund. and Byt.*), for 'mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time' (see *Byt. II*, 62, 63), a period of great tribulation for the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers.

does its harm then proceed therefrom? 11. Of whom are all the religious rites always more authorisedly ordered, of that priestly man, or of that disciple? 12. *For* what reason, also, is it proper to diminish the gift for all the religious rites of him who is a priestly man, or to give *it* in excess? 13. When they do not diminish the gift for the ceremonial, and *it* is given in excess, in what manner does its great advantage then arise therefrom; *and* why *and* through what source (bêkh) is it possible *for* advantage to arise therefrom? 14. When they diminish the gift what harm to it (the ceremonial) is then possible to arise therefrom, *and* how is *it* better when they give the gift for the ceremonial?

15. For when the family householders, with those of the good religion of Irân, are early (pêš) *with* every single *celebration of* all the religious rites with holy-water, in the land of Pârs, unless they are in distress, their gift is then 400 dirhams¹; and we have given more than this, *even* 450 dirhams², for it. 16. And now should it be needful, when we diminish anything from the 400 dirhams, or from the 450³ dirhams, of their gift, they would then not accept *it* from us, *and* they speak thus: 'For 400 dirhams, or *at* least for 350 dirhams⁴; nothing less do we

¹ About 140 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n). M14 has 300 dirhams.

² About 157½ rūpîs. M14 has 350 dirhams. The actual value of all these sums depends upon the cost of the necessaries of life in Pârs in the ninth century.

³ M14 has '350.'

⁴ About 122½ rūpîs. K35 has ângûn, 'so,' instead of gûganō, 'dirham' (the two words being nearly alike in Pahl. letters); this would alter the phrase as follows:—'or less; as to 350, so paltry a thing we do not accept.'

accept.' 17. *But* there are needy *men*¹ who always come to us *and* speak thus: 'For 350 dirhams we will twice conduct all the religious rites with holy-water², as you have always ordered us before for 400 dirhams; order *it* only of us, *for* shouldst thou have *it* managed by priestly men, they always say that they should always perform a curtailment (kâs-târîh) of the religious rites and ceremonies of the sacred beings, *and* that all the religious rites are not authorisedly ordered except of them.'

18. Although a priest (aêrpatö) who becomes a ruler of the ceremonial should be doubly a decider, yet order *some one* to explain to us clearly concerning these questions, as asked by us.

19. The reply is this, that the *man* of the good religion who intended to order all the religious rites is he whose desire is goodness, and he should be a decider of questions about it.

20. *As to* the priest who spoke thus:—'Thou shouldst order *it* of me for 350³ dirhams, as you have always given before your business *was arranged*; *and* it becomes your own non-religious share of the duty, to be authorisedly given, because you have proceeded with the alleged demeanour of the country *and* for the purpose of intercession; and all the

¹ The disciples, who are represented as applicants for employment.

² That is, in the most solemn manner, and with all appliances. It appears from Chap. LXXXVIII, 9, that the religious rites without holy-water were then performed for 120 to 150 dirhams, or little more than one-third the fee demanded for those with holy-water; whereas the merit of some rites with holy-water is said to be a hundred times as great as that of the same rites without holy-water (see Sls. XVI, 6).

³ M14 has '400' here, but see § 2.

religious rites with holy-water are such as they solemnize repeatedly (pavan dōr), among which there are many in which¹ I *act* and *am* very well performing'—the gift of 350 dirhams is then not excessive remuneration for him.

21. *As to* the disciple who spoke thus:—'For 350 dirhams I will *twice*² conduct all the religious rites in the land³ of Pārs'—such of them as they then conduct repeatedly are not many in the aggregate (*kīnakō*), and they certainly damage his (the man's) property, and all the religious rites of fire, through that deficiency. 22. And they would accept it on this account, that through a love of righteousness they might cause an advantage (*khangīnakō*) unto all those religious rites by their own inferior eminence⁴. 23. And he extends *and* impels the ceremonial of the sacred beings into much progress who promotes it through that eminence which is owing to his own wealth, *and* which is thus more possessed of a share (*bōn*) of the ceremonial of the sacred beings and of the good work of praise—except, indeed, a like good work of praise of his—when they shall cause that manifestation of eminence⁵. 24. So that the orderer of the good work understands that that which is diminished by him⁶ is the eminence

¹ Reading *mūn*, 'which,' instead of *amat*, 'when' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n).

² The cipher '2' is omitted in the Pahl. text here, but see §§ 3, 17.

³ K₃₅ has *būn*, instead of *būm* (see § 3).

⁴ Or, it may be 'by the eminence of their own wealth,' as *aīr*, 'inferior,' and *khēl*, 'wealth, property,' are alike in Pahlavi; but neither reading is quite satisfactory here.

⁵ By a proper disbursement of wealth.

⁶ When he diminishes his payment.

of the disciple, which his own wealth *has* to order for those who are not able to give wealth which is their own property for it; *and* he makes no curtailment (bangisnõ) of those scanty remunerations.

25. And if that disciple should accept as remuneration less than is the custom *for* all the religious rites, *the orderer* is not undiminished in wealth¹, for the reason that the good effect owing to the advantage of holy-water is such as *when* they conduct *them* repeatedly, unless it be necessary to conduct *them* in a manner as *if* unpaid (pavan agazîd).

26. That curtailment of the good effect is not afterwards demandable (pasin-sakhunîkõ), if it *has* to be accepted by him; *and* if that acceptance of less remuneration by him be an opposing of him to the malice and ill-temper (vushât) of the priests, this also is not *the way* that they should cause progress as regards their own *business*.

27. And the proximity (nazdîh) of a master of the house² *who* keeps away from all the religious rites requested *and* accepted—more particularly when the accepter accepts all the religious rites of the requester for that remuneration—is itself necessary; he may not be of a religious disposition, but it is yet requisite *for him* to be where this is requested

¹ M14 has 'it is not eminence in wealth;' but the meaning is evidently that there is no real saving when the expenditure is reduced, because the good effect of the rites is also diminished when they are insufficiently paid for.

² Or, khânõpânõ may mean 'a keeper of the sacred table,' or low stone platform on which the ceremonial vessels are placed, which is often called khân. In either case the orderer of the ceremony is meant, and the author evidently contemplates the probability of the order being given as a mere formal matter of duty, without any really religious feeling.

and accepted for that scanty remuneration of his, owing to the extent and impetus of *his* share of the duty.

28. Moreover, it is perceived by us in Pârs *that* they who would accept the work for half the remuneration which was requisite as profit for it formerly would seize the remuneration. 29. And the reason of it is this :—The peasants relied upon the corn of the field (khânõ) *which* has not come, *and they* said : ‘ We are hurried ; we never obtain *anything* even on a single one of various debts, and by this payment we *shall* save *our* lives for the time ; so we calculate that whatever we seize in the manner of a debt or two, when the corn arrives *and* we sell the corn, we *shall* make *as* profit on that business¹ ;’—and it seemed to me very desirable *for* such a man.

30. If, also, they should approve that scanty remuneration of that disciple, it is an injury of all the religious rites, of which the forgivers² *have* to cast the consideration of the unequally-shared advantage out of the body³. 31. All the religious rites ordered of him who is a better performer, owing to not diminishing the proper remuneration, *having* proceeded unaltered, the remuneration of righteousness *one* does not approve is important as regards such as they solemnize and conduct in the period⁴.

¹ This parable justifies the taking of religious stipends by force, in cases of necessity, by a practical appeal to the sympathies of the enquirers ; but it really evades the question proposed in § 7, which refers to seizures not justified by necessity.

² Probably the priests who appoint atonements for sins confessed and renounced (see Sls. VIII, 1, 2, 5, 6).

³ Of those who have obtained a disproportionate share of the profit of the good works by not paying properly for them.

⁴ There are several doubtful points in the construction of this section.

32. Since, for the 350 dirhams, all the religious rites which they conduct once with holy-water are, it is affirmed, all the religious rites caused to be conducted twice with holy-water in that same place *and with* the same good effect, it is more important to order of *them* who shall allow all the religious rites twice; for, with as much wealth, as much efficiency, and as much good effect, more ceremonial is good.

33. The worthiness of the disciple, which is owing to himself, is the preparation; *and* the priest is worthy, of whose performance in the religion *you have* spoken¹; therefore, supreme worthiness is unattainable by either of them; so it is more significant when the disciple is the preparer, *and* the priest, *as* director, becomes a demander of good effect; both strive for good progress, *and* through many kinds of participation they may be worthy. 34. And both of them, praising together—whereby the participation is brought *to* an end—may authorisedly seize²; but that worthiness of theirs is owing to the duty and the praise therein—this *one* in preparing, *and* this *one* in superintendence (*avar-madīh*) of the recital—*and* the after discourse and petitioning, *and* other good done.

¹ See § 1.

² Probably the remuneration, if it be withheld; provided always they do their duty thoroughly, as mentioned in the concluding clause.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. *As to* the sixty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this appearance¹ which is girded on the sky?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* a mingling of the brilliance of the sun with mist and cloud that is seen, of which *it is at* all times and seasons, moreover, a characteristic appearance, whereby *it has* become their sign above from spiritual to earthly beings.

3. That which is earthly is the water above to which its brilliance is acceptable; and the many brilliant colours (*gunakân*) which are formed from that much mingling² of brilliance and water, and are depicted (*mânâkî-aîtö*), are the one portion for appearing³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. *As to* the sixty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this which, when the sun and moon *have* both come up, is something⁴

¹ Reading *dîdanöîh*; but the word can also be read *sad-vanîh*, which might stand for *sad-gûnîh*, 'a hundred-coloured existence,' a possible term for the rainbow, but the Persian dictionaries give no nearer term than *sadkas*, or *sadkês*.

² *M14* has 'that mingling of many portions and few portions.'

³ Reading *dîdanökö*; but it can also be read *sad-vanakö*, a similar alternative to that in § 1.

⁴ The only probable reading for this word is *mindavam*, 'a thing;' it occurs three times in this question, but is a very vague term for the phases of the moon, probably referring to a supposed body covering the dark part of the moon's disc.

come, *and* comes on as *it were* anew when it (the moon) becomes new, *and* men want the thing to go down from the place *where it* is becoming apparent? 2. When it *has* been several times, what is then the thing *which* comes up *and* exists, and how is its motion by night and day?

3. The reply is this, that the sun and moon are always seen¹ there where they stand, and they exist for men and the creatures. 4. The sun is swifter-moving² than the moon, *and* every day becomes a little in advance; at the new moon the sun is shining, and the moon owing to diminution backwards, on account of the slenderness of the moon by much travelling³, and on account of the brilliance of the sun, is not apparent. 5. As the sun goes down a light which is not very apparent is the moon, and not *having* gone down the moon is seen⁴; and each day the moon increases, comes up more behind the sun, *and* goes down more behind, *and* is, therefore, more seen. 6. When increased to the utmost, which is approaching a likeness of the sun, it comes spherical (aspiharakō), and is seen the whole night; to diminish anew it comes back to the companionship of the sun, and goes into the splendour of the sun.

¹ The MSS. have *astî-hênd*, 'have remained,' instead of *khadîtunî-hênd*, 'are seen;' but the difference between these words in Pahlavi letters is merely a medial stroke.

² Apparently so, as the moon rises and sets about 48 minutes later every day, on the average.

³ A very anthropomorphic mode of accounting for the waning of the moon into a slender crescent.

⁴ Most Orientals consider the day of the new moon to be that in the evening of which it is first possible to see the moon; this is usually the first, but sometimes the second, day after the actual change of the moon according to European ideas.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. *As to the sixty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: When something takes hold of the moon or sun what is then its residence (khânö), and whence does it always seize upon it?*

2. The reply is this, that two dark progeny of the *primeval ox*¹ move and are made to revolve from far below the sun and moon, and whenever, during the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, they make *one* pass below the sun, or below the moon, it becomes a covering which is spun (*tad*) over the sun, and it is so when the sun or moon is not seen. 3. Of each of those two progeny of the *primeval ox*—one of which is called 'the head,' and one 'the tail'—the motion is specified among astronomers²; but *in* remaining upon those luminaries, and producing that covering, they do not attain unto those luminaries

¹ Supposing the reading should be 2-ân gôkîhar-î târ here, and 2-ân gôkîharân in § 3. Gôkîhar is a supposed planetary (and, therefore, malevolent) body, connected with the sun and moon and having a head and tail, which falls on to the earth at the resurrection (see Bd. V, 1, XXVIII, 44, XXX, 18), and is here described as the cause of eclipses. Its name implies that it sprang from, or contained, the seed of the primeval ox, the supposed source of animal life (see Bd. XIV, 3), and in its Av. form, gao-kîthra, it is a common epithet of the moon; in Pers. it has become gôzihr or gavazkîhr. As the words stand in K₃₅ they look more like 2 andôg dâlan-î târ, 'two dark store-lobbies,' or 2 andôg gâl-î târ, 'two clusters of dark spiders;' and in § 3 the word han-kînö is substituted for the nearly synonymous andôg. In M₁₄ the words seem to be 2 ângûn kîharânö-î târ, 'two such dark faces.'

² M₁₄ has 'in the calculations of astronomers.'

within that covering. 4. *There* occurs no difference whatever of the descending *rays*¹ from those luminaries into a place of purity and freedom from disturbance far below those luminaries, except this, that the light which they divert to the world, and their activity as regards the *celestial* spheres are not complete *for* so much time, *nor* the coming² of the light to the earth.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. *As to* the sixty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What are these river-beds³, and what is the cause of them; whence do they always arise, *and* why is *there* not a river-bed everywhere *and in* every place where *there* is no mountain?

2. The reply is this, that any place where a mountain is not discernible and a river-bed exists *it* is a fissure (askûpö); and it is declared as clear that, even before the growth of the mountains, when the earth was all a plain, *by* the shaking of the world the whole world became rent (zandakö)⁴. 3. Even

¹ Literally 'fallers.'

² Assuming that mâdârîh stands for madârîh. The meaning is that an eclipse produces no harm beyond a short interruption of the descent of the sun's or moon's rays to the earth.

³ There is some doubt as to whether the word should be read zôgakö (comp. Pers. zôgh, 'a river'), or zandakö (comp. Pers. zandah, 'fissured'), but the meaning is tolerably certain from the context.

⁴ When the evil spirit rushed into the earth it is said to have shaken, and the mountains began to grow (see Bd. VIII, 1-5); and at the resurrection it is expected that the earth will recover its original perfect state of a level plain (see Bd. XXX, 33).

Frâstyâv of Tûr¹ was specially mighty by causing the construction of channels (*vidarg*) there where *it* is mountainous, and also *in* low-lands², in which there is no mountain, and the shaking in its creation was the formation of great sunken³ springs and river-beds. 4. And if it *has* been prepared *in*, or if *it be* in a ravine (*sikaftö*) of, the mountains, the cause, too, of the contraction, thundering, and tearing of a river, if *its* confinement *be* in the earth, is the resistance which it *meets* in seeking a passage; and as it is a spring of the waters of the earth, so also it is in the earth, whose contraction and panting are mighty and full of strength. 5. And when *it is* a time that they would make a constructed channel at the outside of its ravine, as regards the contraction which is within it, the resistance by which it is contracted at the outside of the ravine is the ground⁴.

CHAPTER LXXI.

I. *As to* the seventieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is anything which happens

¹ Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, in the Avesta; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah (see Bd. XXXI, 14). He is often mentioned as constructing canals (see Bd. XX, 17, 34, XXI, 6), but being a foreign conqueror he was considered as specially wicked by the Irânians.

² Assuming that *sîtân* is a miswriting of *sîpôân*, occasioned by joining two of the letters, just as *harvispö*, 'all,' is often written *harvist*.

³ Or, perhaps, 'hidden.'

⁴ That is, a watercourse which is confined by its natural rocky channel in the mountains, when carried across the plain in a canal, is confined only by softer soil.

unto men through fate or through action, is exertion destiny *or* without destiny, *and* does anything devoid of destiny happen unto men, or what way is it? 2. *As to* that which they say, that, when a man turns unto sinfulness, they ordain anew a new death¹; *as to* that which they say, *that* anything which happens unto men is a work of the moon², and every benefit is connected with the moon, and the moon bestows *it* upon worldly beings; and *as to* what way the moon *does* this, and bestows all benefits, order *some one* to decide the literal explanation of how and what way it is, by the will of the sacred beings.

3. The reply is this, that the high-priests³ have said thus, that there are *some* things through destiny, and there are *some* through action; and *it* is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action. 4. And this, too, is thus said by them, that that which is not

¹ This reference is to a phrase in the Pahl. commentary on Vend. V, 33, which commentary contains a good many of the statements made in this chapter, excepting those relating to the moon. The reading aôsh, 'death,' given by K35, is probably more correct than aûbas, 'for him,' given by our modern MSS. of the Vendidâd; but M14 has amended it, and states 'then many new *things* are ordained by it for him.'

² Assuming that vidanâg, 'time,' stands for bîdanâg, the Huz. of mâh, which means both 'month' and 'moon.' In the following phrases the word mâh is used.

³ It may be noted that most Pahlavi writers, when quoting the Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidâd (as the author is doing here) or any other Nask, speak of them merely as the utterances of the high-priests, and reserve the term dînô, 'revelation,' for the Avesta itself; thus showing that belief in the inspiration of the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta is a very modern idea.

destined for a man in the world does not happen; *and* that which is destined, be it owing to exertion, will come forward, be it through sinfulness *or* slothfulness he is injured by it. 5. That which will come forward owing to exertion is such as *his* who goes to a meeting of happiness, or the sickness of a mortal who, owing to sickness, dies early¹; *and* he who through sinfulness and slothfulness is thereby injured is such as *he* who would wed no wife, *and* is certain that no child of his is born, *or* such as *he* who gives *his* body unto slaughter, and life is injured by his living.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. *As to* the seventy-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What are the heinous sins of committing unnatural intercourse, is it proper to order *or* perform the *sacred* ceremony for him who shall commit unnatural intercourse, *and* is it then proper to practise sitting together and eating together with him who shall commit *it*, and shall commit *it with* a longing for it, or not?

2. The reply is this, that of the evil Mazda-worshippers²—who *were* the seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind³, whose practice of Aharman's *will was* as much as an approximation to *that of*

¹ M14 has 'which comes forward owing to sickness.'

² M14 has 'of a like evil practice, in inclination for sins, *were* the very heinous in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.'

³ Reading girâi van vinâs, and assuming that van is a mis-writing of gûn.

Aharman *himself*—two are those whom you have mentioned, who are defiled with mutual sin. 3. For, of those seven evil-doers, one *was* Az-i Dahâk¹, by whom witchcraft *was* first glorified; he exercised the sovereignty of misgovernment, and desired a life of the unintellectual (ahangân khayâ) for the world. 4. One *was* Azi Sruvar², by whom infesting the highway *in* terrible modes, frightful watchfulness (vimag-bîdârih)³ of the road, and devouring of horse *and* man *were* perpetrated. 5. One *was* Vadak⁴ the mother of Dahâk, by whom adultery *was* first committed, and by it all lineage is disturbed, control is put an end to, and without the authority of the husband an intermingling of son with son⁵ occurs. 6. One *was* the Vîptak⁶ ('pathic')

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

² A personification of Av. azi srvara, a serpent or dragon thus described in the Hôrn Yt. (Yas. IX, 34-39):—' (Keresâspa) who slew the serpent Srvara which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth (spear's-length?) high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the mid-day hour, and the serpent scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâspa Naremanau fled aside frightened' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179). The same account is given in Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ M14 has bîmîndârîh, 'terrifying.'

⁴ See Chap. LXXVIII, 2. There is possibly some connection between this name and the Av. epithet, Vadhaghana, which is thus mentioned by the evil spirit, speaking to Zaratûst, in Vend. XIX, 23:—'Curse the good Mazda-worshipping religion! and thou shalt obtain fortune such as the Vadhaghana sovereign obtained;' and Mkh. LVII, 25 calls him 'the Vadagân sovereign Dahâk.' The Pahlavi writers seem to have taken this epithet as a matronymic, owing to its form, but whether the mother's name be really traditional, or merely manufactured from the epithet, is doubtful.

⁵ Reading levatman barman barman, instead of levatman bûm barman. M14 omits bûm.

⁶ Av. vîptô (p. p. of vip, 'to sow, to fecundate'), used in the

in the intercourse of males, the infecundity of which is the desire of men; and by him the intercourse of males *and* the way of destroying the seed *were* first shown unto males. 7. One *was* the Vipinîdak¹ ('pæderast'), the male by whom the use of females *was* first brought among the errors (khazdag) of the male, and *was* despised (dûkhtō) by him; he who is a cherisher of seed is delivering *it* to females, and that which is destroying the seed is the flowing of stench into the prescribed vessels² for it, the delivering *it* to males by a demoniacal process, and carrying on a practice which effaces (âhangêdō) *and* conceals the race³ of the living. 8. One *was* Tûr-î Brâdar-vakhsh⁴, the Karap *and* heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men *was* put to death. 9. And one *was* he by whom the religions of apostates⁵ *were* preferred—through the deceitfulness of the perverted text and interpretation⁶ which they themselves utter—to the law which the righteous

sense of 'a pathic' in Vend. VIII, 102. This name, as well as the next one, is used here more as representing a class than an individual.

¹ The p. p. of the causal form of vîptanō, 'to fecundate,' used as an equivalent of the Av. vaêpayô of Vend. VIII, 102.

² Assuming that pavan pavan mûdragânō stands for pavan farmûdragânō; but there is some doubt as to the correct reading of several words in this section.

³ Or 'seed.'

⁴ The eldest of five brothers who were wizards of the Karap race or caste, and deadly enemies of Zaratûst (see Byt. II, 3). He is said to have slain Zaratûst in the end.

⁵ Aharmôkô, Av. ashemaogha, means literally 'disturbing the right,' and is a term applied to an ungodly man specially under the influence of the evil spirit, as an apostate is naturally supposed to be.

⁶ The Avesta and Zand.

has praised, that existence *which* would have procured a complete remedy, *and* would have become the eternity of the records which bestow salvation, through the good righteousness which is owing to the pure religion, the best of knowledge.

10. And they who are defiled by a propensity to stench are thereby welcoming the demons *and* fiends¹, *and* are far from good thought² through vexing *it*; and a distance from them is *to be maintained* of necessity in sitting and eating with *them*, except so far as *it may be* opportune for the giving of incitement *by* words for withdrawing (padâlisnǝ) from *their* sinfulness, while converting *them* from that propensity. 11. *Should one* die, to order a ceremonial for him is indecorous, and to perform *it* would be unauthorised; but if *he were* to do *so* penitently *one* would then be authorised to perform his ceremonial after the three *nights*³, for it is the remedy for atonement of sin. 12. And so long as *he* is living *he* is in the contingencies (vakhtagânǝ) owing to the sickness through which *he* is in that way an infamous *one* (akhamîdâr), and *there* are no preventives (bôndagânǝ) and medicinal powder for it; these are teachings also for the duty and good works of a ceremonial for the soul⁴.

¹ Who are supposed to seize upon them and pervade them; hence the necessity of shunning such men, to avoid contamination from the demons who possess them.

² That is, from what is personified in the archangel Vohûman.

³ During which the soul is supposed to remain on earth, hovering about the body, after death (see Chaps. XX, 2, XXIV, 2, XXV, 2).

⁴ That is, they are warnings to him to repent.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. *As to* the seventy-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Does the stench of him, stinking withal, who commits unnatural intercourse proceed to the sky, or not; and to what place does the wind of that stench go *when* it goes *anywhere*?

2. The reply is this, that the material stench goes as far and in such proportion as there are filthiness and fetidness in the stinking existences, and the spiritual stench goes unto there where there are appliances (sāmānō) for acquiring stench, a miserable place; on account of the separation (gardīh) of the sky, everywhere where it goes in the direction of the sky it does not reach to the undisturbed existences¹. 3. Information about the stench is manifest in the omniscient creator, whose omniscience is among the luminaries, *but* that persistent creator *and* the primeval angels *and* archangels are *free* from its attack; and *his* information about the deception which is *practised* upon that labourer *for* hell and mind *allied* with the demons² is certain.

¹ The sky being divided into three parts, and the uppermost part being inaccessible to evil (see Chap. XXXVII, 24, 25).

² Reading *avâ-sêdâ-mînîsnōih*, but it is possible that *avâ* may have originally been *khavdak*, for the Av. *khavzô*, 'male paramour,' of Vend. VIII, 99, 103 (trans. D.).

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. *As to* the seventy-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Is *there any* discomfiture (*vânîdârih*) of the archangels from that stench, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the archangels are immortal and undistressed; their place, also, is in that best existence of light, all-glorious, all-delightful, *and* undisturbed; and the strength of the stench due to the demons¹ does not reach unto *anything* pertaining to the archangels. 3. The archangels are omniscient², friendly to the creatures, persistent, *and* procure forgiveness; they know that heinous practice which is the heinous practice³ of that wretched dupe (*frîftakö*) who *has* become defiled in that most filthy manner (*zîsttûm ârang*), which is like that which is provided *and* which is applied to him even in the terrible punishment⁴ that *has* come upon him from the demons; and then, on account of *their* friendliness to the creatures, it *has*

¹ Reading *az-sêdâîkö*, but it may be *âz-sêdâîkö*, 'of the demon of greediness,' or it may stand for *khavdak-sêdâîkö*, 'of a male paramour of the demons,' as mentioned in the last note.

² Omniscience with regard to what is taking place in the world being an indispensable characteristic of any being to whom prayers are addressed, or whose intercession is implored.

³ These words are thus repeated in K35, and the repetition may be correct.

⁴ Referring probably to the punishment of such a sinner, detailed in AV. XIX, 1-3, as follows:—'I saw the soul of a man, through the fundament of which soul, as it were, a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.'

seemed to them severe, and thereby arises their forgiveness which is according to whatever anguish is owing to the torment which galls him.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. *As to the seventy-fourth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Do the angels have his dead body restored, or not?*

2. The reply is this, that *there was a high-priest who said that the angels do not have his dead body restored, because of the sin of the mutually-polluting, full of stench, and inglorious victims (khvâ-pîd'ôân)¹, the terrible kind of means for the exculpation of creatures², and that practice when males keep specially imperfect in their duty; it being then suitable for mankind to become free from him who—like Az-î Dahâk³, who wanted many most powerful demons—resists and struggles, and is not possessing the perception to extract (patkasistan'ö) a pardon, owing to the course of many demoniacal causes.*

3. But innumerable multitudes (amarakânîhâ), happily persevering⁴ in diligence, have with united observation, unanimously, and with mutual assistance (ham-bangisnîhâ) insisted upon this, that they have the dead *bodies* of all men restored; for

¹ Victims of the deceptions practised by the demons (see Chaps. LXXIII, 3, LXXIV, 3); but the reading is uncertain.

² Probably the punishment of the wicked in hell.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

⁴ Reading farukhvö-tûshisn, but it may be perkhüntö dahisn, 'having begged the boon;' and M14 has pôryôd'kesân'ö, 'of those of the primitive faith.'

the good creator, granting forgiveness *and* full of goodness, would not abandon any creature to the fiend¹. 4. In revelation (dīnô) it is said that every dead *body* is raised up, both of the righteous and of the wicked²; *there* is none whom they shall abandon to the fiend.

5. And this, also, is thus decided by them³, that even *as to him who* is most grievously sinful, when he becomes mentally *seeking* pardon *and* repentant of the sin, *and, being* as much an atoner as *he* is well able, *has* delivered *up his* body *and* wealth for retribution *and* punishment, in reliance upon the atonement for sin of the good religion, then it is possible *for* his soul, also, to come to the place of the righteous⁴.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. *As to* the seventy-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who shall slay those who shall commit unnatural intercourse, how is then his account as to good works and crime?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests, in *their* decision, *have* thus specially said, that all worthy of death are *so* by the decision of judges and the

¹ Except for temporary punishment in hell. All ideas of the vindictiveness of implacable justice are foreign to the Mazda-worshipper's notion of the good creator.

² Compare Bd. XXX, 7.

³ Probably by the 'multitudes' of § 3.

⁴ By delivering up his body and wealth to the will of the high-priest, as an atonement, and mentally renouncing his sins, he is saved from hell, and the beneficial effect of any good works he may have performed returns to him (see Sls.VIII, 5).

command of kings, whose business is execution. 3. Whoever shall slay him who *has* heinous sins¹ after controversies three times with him, about the decision of those acquainted with the religion *and about* the command of kings, when he *has* thus remained in the sin in defiance of his own relations—and not inimically to the man *and* injuriously to the religion, but inimically to the sin *and* in order to keep away intercourse with demons—is to consider *it* as a great good work. 4. No command is given about the decision of *what one* is to do *in* the same matter, more heedfully and more authorisedly in *cases of* doubtful attention, for the good work exists undoubtedly more *and* more abundantly².

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. *As to* the seventy-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Will you direct *some one* then to make the heinousness of this sin of unnatural intercourse clear to us?

2. The reply is this, that the first material creature *was* the righteous man, the smiter of the fiend, the righteous propitiator; so, also, in the world *he* is more recognising the sacred beings, more completely (hamâktar) for the production of creatures,

¹ Reading vinâsânö, as in M14, instead of the doubtful word vashkîsn, which might perhaps be compared with Pers. buzhis, 'opposition.'

² The meaning is that no one is bound to put such sinners to death until they are condemned by the authorities, but should one do so upon his own responsibility, entirely for the good of the faith, and certain of the impenitence of the sinners, he is not only free from blame, but has done a meritorious deed.

and with more provision for the creatures¹. 3. And with the manifestation of knowledge the best duty is that which *exists* in lawfully practising procreation, *and* the complete progression of righteous men arose therefrom.

4. In like manner he who is the omniscient creator formed mankind in the first pair, who were brother and sister, *and* became Mashyâh and Mashyâyôih², and all races of material life *exist* by means of acquiring sons and *his* omnisciently causing procreation. 5. The man and woman *were* also made to lust (gâminîdō) by him, and thereby *became* the father and mother of material men; and he naturalized among primitive man the qualities of a desire (âlûdanō) for acquiring sons together through glorifying. 6. And the law *and* religion authorised it as a proper wish, so long as *they proceed* from those who are their own *relations*, not from those who are not their own; and with those whom next-of-kin marriages³, original duties, and desires for other sons have formed, complete progress in the world is connected, and even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*⁴, it is to arise therefrom. 7. And the birth of many glorious practisers of the religion, those confident in spirit, organizers of the realm, arrangers of the country, *and* even accom-

¹ Reading *val-dâm-nivârisnōihâtar*; the syllables -âtar being written separately M14 has *val dâm-nivârisnîh aīyyâd-tar*, 'more remembering the provision for the creatures.' Promoting the increase of, and providing maintenance for, good creatures are considered to be important good works.

² Here written *Mashyâ* and *Mashyâyâôih*, but see Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2.

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁴ See Chap. II, 8.

plishers of the renovation of *the universe*, which arises from *those same* to whom that practice shall be law—and when it occurs lawfully—is a miracle and benefit of the world, the will of the sacred beings and the utmost good work discernible, because the complete progress of the righteous arises therefrom, and the great female faculty (nekedih) is manifested.

8. So when the opponent of the same, by whom the source of seed and procreation is spoiled, is intent upon a way for the death of progeny—and the intention is certain—*its* annihilation is owing to him¹; and he is the devastating fiend², whose will is a desire of depopulation and ruin, and by the power of his Niyâz (*demon of 'want'*)³ he turns imperceptibly the esteem of the very indispensable production of men from the position of wishing for sons to a creature⁴ who is opposed to it, through whom have arisen its ruin and corruption. 9. And the nature and power which are his cherishing of progeny are not suitable for receiving seed, and misrepresented (drôkinîdö) by him is the accompanying evil intercourse, so that emitting the seed (shûdak), in delivering *it* at that time into that burning place, full of stench, is to produce *its* death, and no procreation occurs.

10. The dupes⁵ turn the living seed from mingling with women and seeking for births, just as in the like vice of any demon, connected with a longing

¹ A free translation of *agas lôitö*, which phrase is placed at the end of the section in the Pahl. original.

² The evil spirit.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 52.

⁴ M₁₄ has 'to a member.'

⁵ Of the fiend.

for the dupes¹, they shall abandon that advantage of the world, the delights (vâyagânö) of a son². 11. He who is wasting seed makes a practice of causing the death of progeny; when the custom is completely continuous, which produces an evil³ stoppage of the progress of the race, the creatures *have* become annihilated; *and* certainly, that action, from which, when it is universally proceeding, the depopulation of the world must arise, *has* become and furthered (frârâstö) the greatest wish of Aharman⁴. 12. Such a practiser is the greatest wish of Aharman, through the demon's excretion⁵ of doubt *in* the practice, owing to intercourse with the emitter, *which* is most filthy and most fetid, and the emitting member, which is causing death; and the demoniacal practice⁶ is perceptible even from the same practice, and whatever is the heinousness *of* the sinfulness is clear to observers of the dead *body*.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

I. *As to* the seventy-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* the nature of the heinousness *and* sinfulness of committing adultery, *and* the worldly retribution specified *for it* in revela-

¹ Such men are said to become paramours of the demons (see Vend. VIII, 102-106), as further alluded to in § 12.

² M14 has 'seeking a son.'

³ Reading dahêd vad, but M14 has yâityântö, 'brought a,' and may be right.

⁴ See Chap. XXXVII, 10.

⁵ Reading rikhîh, but M14 has râsîh, 'course.'

⁶ In hell.

tion, *will* you then direct *some one* to point out to us the modes¹ of retribution for it?

2. The reply is this, that it is adultery, heinous *and* vicious, which first Dahāk *used* to commit, and *he* is known by the illicit intercourse which *was* his desire with Vadak², who *was his* mother, in the lifetime of Aûrvadâsp³, who *was* his father, without⁴ the authority of Aûrvadâsp, who was the husband of Vadak whose practising of sin, unauthorisedly *and* injudiciously, *was* itself heinous *and* very frequent.

3. And its modes *of* theft or spoliation are just as much more heinous than other theft *and* spoliation as a man *and* that which arises from his procreation of man are greater than the position of property.

4. One is this, that *it* is important to consider with steadfastness the courtesan life of the adulteress *and* the bad disposition assuredly *and* undoubtedly therein; she causes pillage unauthorisedly, and in *her* practice, also, intercourse during menstruation, owing to *its* resembling the burning of seed, is a frightful kind of handiwork (dastô).

¹ M14 has 'the various modes.'

² This is evidently the name written Udaî in Pâz. in Bd. XXXI, 6, who was, therefore, the *daughter* of Bayak; the fact of her being the mother of Dahāk is more clearly expressed in the Pahlavi text of Chap. LXXII, 5.

³ This is the name written Khrûtâsp in Bd. XXXI, 6, which is a Pâz. reading, though confirmed by the Pahl. form in TD (as Udaî is, to some extent, by the Pahl. Aûd of TD). This Aûrvadâsp, whose name can also be read Khûrûtâsp, must be distinguished from his namesake, the father of Vistâsp, whose name became corrupted into Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁴ K35 omits *avîk*, 'without,' here, but has it in Chap. LXXII, 5. Without this particle the meaning would be 'who *was* the high-priest of his father, Aûrvadâsp.'

5. One is this, that it may be *that* she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and has* to commit on her child¹ the murdering of progeny.

6. One is this, that it may be in pregnancy, *by* her coming to intercourse *with* another man, *that* the living child which is in her womb has died through that intercourse.

7. One is this, that it may be that she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and* the pregnancy *having* given indications, through shame or fear she swallows a drug² [and seeks a remedy, and murders the child in *her* womb.

8. One is this, that it may] be that a woman who is foreign or infidel, and becomes pregnant by that intercourse, gives birth to a child, *and* it has grown up with the child which is known *to belong to* the husband of the woman, *and* remains in foreign habits (an-aīrīh) or infidelity. 9. The committer of the illicit intercourse is as unobservant and grievously sinful as *he* who shall lead his own child from *his* native habits (aīrīh) and the good religion into foreign habits and infidelity; as to the sin which that child may commit in childhood *he* is the sinner, and as to that which it may commit in manhood *he* is equally sinful with it. 10. Also, if that child be put to death in childhood, *and* be passed through water, rain, *or* fire, *or* be buried in the well-yielding earth³, *he* is an equally vicious murderer, *and* is defiled thereby through *being* the invisible causer.

¹ M14 has '*and* with the assistance of another man *she has* so to commit on her child of that pregnancy.' The interpolation is clumsy, and does not make the sentence easier to translate.

² The passage which follows, in brackets, is from M14; there being evidently something omitted from K35 at this point.

³ The contamination of water, rain, fire, or earth, by contact with

11. Likewise, if he who is a man of the good religion accustoms a woman to illicit intercourse, *and* through adultery a child is born and grows up, even then to practise undutifully that which undutifulness committed is to make a wretched *and* clandestine connection. 12. On account of the birth *having* occurred through illicit intercourse *it* is grievously sinful; through propriety *it* is praiseworthy, and through falsity *it* is sinful¹, *and* it is said that a bastard is not appointed in superintendence over *any one*. 13. *If* it be done so that pregnancy does not occur, even then every single time—not to mention the text (*avis tâk*) *as to* the matter regarding the destruction of his own living *seed*²—*it is a sin of* two Tanâpûhars, which are six hundred stîrs³; *and* regarding that emission *it* is inexpiable (*atanâpûhar*)⁴.

a corpse, being considered a heinous sin (see Sls. II, 9, 50, 76, XIII, 19).

¹ That is, procuring the birth of a legitimate child is highly meritorious, but an illegitimate birth is sinful.

² Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 77–82, which states that the voluntary waste of seed is an inexpiable sin, as mentioned at the end of this section.

³ A Tanâpûhar (*Av. tanuperetha*) sin was originally one that required the sinner to place his body at the disposal of the high-priest, in order to atone for it; but it was not necessarily a sin worthy of death, or mortal sin. At the time when the *Vendidâd* was written, such a sin was punished by two hundred lashes of a horse-whip or scourge (see Vend. IV, 72). Subsequently, when the *Vendidâd* scale of punishments was converted into a scale of weights, for estimating the amounts of sins and good works, a Tanâpûhar sin was estimated at three hundred stîrs (*στανήρ*) of four dirhams (*δραχμή*) each (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight of 600 stîrs was probably about that of 840 rūpîs, or 21½ lbs. (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁴ That is, a sin which cannot be atoned for even by giving up one's body for execution. Anâpûhar in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 82.

14. As much on account of the conversation as on account of the companionship *of* the man who goes unto various women, for the sake of a man's sin, and is unatoning, *should* his own body be also defiled with bodily refuse (hīgar-hômōnd)¹, or *should* those kinds of harm be not *kept* away from another², even then every single time of the bodily refuse bringing harm to his own body is *a sin of sixty stirs*³, and through making his own body defiled with bodily refuse is each *time a sin of sixty stirs*; and if he washes with water that defilement with his own bodily refuse, or that which is harmed *thereby*, every single time *it is a sin of six hundred*⁴ stirs.

15. And if it be a foreign or infidel woman, apart from the sinfulness *about* which *I have* written, *it is* a sin of sixty stirs on account of not controlling the sins *and* vicious enjoyment of the foreign woman.
16. And, finally, the other various sins which are owing to *this* sin are very numerous, *and* grievous to thousands of connections, and *it is* thereby contaminating to them *in* a fearful manner.

17. The retribution is renunciation *of sin* in procuring pardon; and the renunciation in his turning from equally grievous disobedience⁵, every single

¹ See Chap. XLVIII, 19.

² M₁₄ has 'or he does not wash those harmful kinds of bodily refuse,' which is inconsistent with what follows.

³ This is the estimated weight of a Khôr sin, originally the crime of inflicting a severe hurt, ranging from a bruise to a wound or broken bone not endangering life (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight was probably equal to that of 84 rūpīs.

⁴ M₁₄ has 'three hundred.'

⁵ Reading asrūstīh as in M₁₄, instead of the aītrōīstōīh of K₃₅. Possibly the latter word might be read 3-trōīstōīh, 'the

time that *he turns* from similar viciousness, and as an atonement for the sin, is to arrange, or order, four (arbâ) marriages of the next of kin to his own wife, lawfully, authorisedly, and most hopeful of offspring. 18. Through fear of the grievous sinfulness which *I have* recounted, *in case of* a child of those of the good religion who has no giver of shame¹, and to keep lawfully in subjection a child who is under control, he who is unnurtured is lawfully given nurture, *and* is nominated for lawfully bringing up. 19. And to turn a man *or* woman of bad disposition, by eulogy and entreaty, or² *by* distress (fangîm) and fear and other representations, from that bad disposition *and* vicious habit; to order next-of-kin marriage³ and all the religious rites (hamâk dînô), the Dvâzdah-hômâst⁴, the ceremony *in honour* of the waters⁵, and the *presentation of* holy-water to the fires⁶; to remove the burden of offspring⁷ which is distressing those of the good religion, and to force them from the infidelity acquired, which is a very atoning atonement for such sins, are extremely proper proceedings (avîr-farhakhtikîh).

passing away of the three *nights*, referring to the Av. phrase thrityau khshapô thraosta, 'on the passing away of the third night,' in Hn. II, 18; the three nights are those immediately after death, while the soul is supposed to remain hovering about the body, thinking over its sins, and dreading the approaching judgment of the angel Rashnu; but previous renunciation of sin would relieve it from much of this dread.

¹ That is, one not born in shame, but a legitimate child. M14 has shîr, 'milk,' substituted for sharm, 'shame.'

² M14 has 'woman of family with extending sins or bad disposition.'

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁴ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁵ Probably the Âbân Nyâyis.

⁶ Probably the Âtas Nyâyis.

⁷ By assisting in their support.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. *As to the seventy-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the decision about water with the word Ithâ¹ and him who shall drink it?* 2. When a man *has performed his ritual and does not take the prayer (vâgō) inwardly, but drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the decision about this efficacy² of which he takes up one half and abandons one half, how is it necessary, or not, to consider it, and what is the sin of it?* 3. *As to him who performs half, or less than half, of the efficacy, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the retribution for this sin when he shall commit it occasionally, and what is good in order that this sin, when he shall commit it, may depart from its source?*

¹ The first word of Yas. V, 1, 2 which forms the first portion (after the invocation) of the inward prayer, or grace, to be muttered before eating or drinking. This first portion may be translated as follows: 'Here then we praise Ahura-mazda, who gave (or created) both cattle and righteousness, he gave both water and good plants, he gave both the luminaries and the earth, and everything good.' This is followed by three Ashem-vohûs, each meaning as follows: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to the angel of perfect rectitude.' After muttering these formulas, or 'taking' them inwardly as a protective spell, the mutterer can eat or drink, and after washing his mouth he 'speaks out' the spell or vâg by reciting certain other formulas aloud. This chapter refers to those who mutilate the vâg by muttering only its first word or words, which matter is also treated in Sls. V.

² Supposing that this word, which may be twice read mâânâê and four times mâênâê, represents the Ar. ma'hni, but this is by no means certain.

4. *As to him* who has performed his Nâbar¹ ritual, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, not muttering (andâkō) the *inward* prayer (vâgō), and performs a ceremony (yastō), though he does not order a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid² for himself, is the decision then *about* him anything better, or not; and does the good work of this ceremony of Gêtô-kharid become just the same as *that* of the Nâbar ceremony, or not? 5. *As to him* who orders a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid for³ himself, what is then his good work, and what is the value⁴ of his worthiness when he does not himself perform because he orders that they should perform for him? 6. And *as to him* who has not performed his ceremony, and is fifteen years *old*, what is then the decision *about* him?

7. The reply is this:—When a man *who has* chanted the Gâthas ('hymns')⁵ drinks water with the word Ithâ, if, moreover, *being* preservable from suffering⁶, he be not a righteous *one* overwhelmed by impotence, it is thus said that, when *in order* to consecrate the sacred cake (drônô)⁷ it is not possible

¹ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest, written nâibar or nâgbar in this chapter, and sometimes nônâbar (Pahl. navak nâibar).

² This ceremony, which means 'the world-purchased,' and by which, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven,' lasts three days, and is performed by two priests; the first day's ceremonies are those of the Nônâbar, those of the second are of the angel Srôsh, and those of the third are of the Sîrôzah, or angels of the thirty days of the month (see Bd. XXX, 28 n).

³ Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.'

⁴ Reading varkâ, instead of va nekêd, 'female,' which is much like it in Pahl. letters.

⁵ And is, therefore, an initiated priest.

⁶ M14 has 'from impotent suffering.'

⁷ See Chap. XXX, 1.

to take the prayer *inwardly*, and *there* are no presentations of it for the tasting of the virtuous *with inward* prayer¹, or for the sake of relieving the sickness of a righteous person, which has come severely, when it is possible for him *to say* 'Ithâ' and one 'Ashem-vohû²', or it is possible for him to say 'Ashem,' *he* is to recite that which it is possible for him to speak, and *he* is to drink or eat³ the water, or food, or medicine which is discreetly his, and may be the custom of his body and life⁴.

8. But the sinfulness of *him* who *has* drunk water with the *word* Ithâ, not owing to suffering, is much the most sinful, except this efficacy of which *you have* written that, *having* taken up⁵ one half, they shall abandon one half; for, when in eating the efficacy is possessed in that manner, *it* is then a chattering meal which is a very grievous sin⁶. 9. Every single drop (pashan)⁷ which in that manner comes to the

¹ Reading *vâgõ atõfdâdagân-î nadûgânõ*, which M14 has altered to mean 'and if in his state of hunger and thirst.'

² Merely the first words of the two formulas which constitute the inward prayer, or *vâg* (see § 1 n).

³ M14 has only 'he is to eat.'

⁴ M14 has 'and is authorisedly to preserve his own body.'

⁵ Reading *frâg*, as in M14 and § 2, instead of *pavan*, 'in;' though the reading 'in taking up' is quite possible.

⁶ The sin of *drâyân-glyisnih*, 'eagerness for chattering,' which arises from talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (*vâg*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out. The sin arises from breaking the spell of the inward prayer (see Sls. V).

⁷ Comp. Av. *parshuya* and Pers. *pashang*, *bashang*. This word has been misread *yazisn*, 'ceremony,' in Sls. V, 3, 4, which ought to stand as follows:—'It is unseasonable chatter for every single drop; for him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; for him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less,

mouth *as* a new taste is *a sin of three stirs*¹, and every single *thing* which is spoken like that word² is a sin of three stirs, which is mentioned as the minimum.

10. The retribution is that way well perfected when, in renunciation of that sin which attacks, a proper efficacy is prepared *and* becomes a vestige (vûnakõ) of the sin of the performer. 11. Whoever is not able to arrange it in this manner is to entreat the prayers of three men with a donation of wealth, and is to solemnize his Nônâbar *ceremony*³, or *he* is to consecrate a sacred cake every day in the ceremonial place, to eat food lawfully, *and* to order the proper maintenance of the efficacy. 12. The assistance of performing the proper rituals through ordering the Nâbar *ceremony*, and the helping existence of discharging the burden of the trouble of a populous household seem to me suitable for the atonement of such-like sin, through the will of the sacred beings.

some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every single drop, or every single morsel, or every single taste is not completed.'

¹ The stir is evidently taken here as equivalent to the Srôshô-karanâm of Sls. V, 3 (see the last note). A sin of three Srôshô-karanâms, 'lashes with a scourge,' is called a Farmân, and is usually the least degree of sin of which notice is taken; its amount is variously estimated (see Sls. IV, 14, X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 1, 5), but the value given here, in the text, is very likely correct, and is equivalent to about $4\frac{1}{5}$ rūpîs, either in weight or amount (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

² The word Ithâ. M14 has 'every single time it is spoken in tasting with an efficacy like that word,' but the meaning of this is not clear.

³ See § 4.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. *As to the seventy-ninth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Concerning him who does not order ceremonies what is then the decision?*

2. The reply is this, that, excepting those among which is specially the selected religious rite (dînô) of him whose ceremony is not performed—who, even though *having* many good works, does not afterwards attain unto the supreme heaven, which is determined¹—this, moreover, is thus said, that he who is not able to perform his ritual himself, when he orders a Gêtô-kharid² ceremony and they shall perform it, can become *fit* for the supreme heaven (garôdmânîkô); this is greatly to be commended.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. *As to the eightieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the purpose of this ceremony for the living soul³, and why⁴ is it necessary*

¹ It is the general opinion that if the proper ceremonies are not performed during the three days after a death (see Chap. XXVIII) the deceased cannot attain to the highest grade of heaven; this is, however, denied by some of the commentators (see Sls. VI, 3-6).

² See Chap. LXXIX, 4 n.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, informs me that every Parsi is bound to perform, or get performed, every year during his or her lifetime, ceremonies for three days in honour of his or her soul, analogous to those performed during the three days after a death. These Zindah-ravân, or Srôsh, ceremonies are generally ordered on the first three Fravardîgân holidays, extending from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eighth day of the last month of the Parsi year.

⁴ Reading maman râi, as in M14; K35 has lâ 'not,' instead of râi, 'for.'

to order *it*? 2. And, whenever *one* orders it, how is it necessary then to order it, how is it best when they celebrate *it*, and what is its great advantage as a good work?

3. The reply is this, that worship with the ceremonial *for* those newly passed *away*, *during* the three days which *they spend* in the account¹, is suitable for the discreet, just as the protection with nourishment of those newly born, in their infancy, is also much more suitable for the discreet. 4. He is a truly discreet man through whom *there* is ceremonial for the three *days*, on account of his own father, and privileged wife, and infant child, *and* well-behaved servant, on *their* passing away; and it is indispensable to order the triple ceremonial of the three days.

5. This, too, is said: where it is not possible to solemnize his three *days*, or they solemnize *them* afterwards, when information *of the death* arrives², three days are to be solemnized as a substitute *for* those three. 6. For the good work of the ceremonial which is ordered by him himself, or bequeathed by him, or is his *through* consenting to it by design³, exists—even though it is thus possible that it will be conducted afterwards—whenever it comes into progress; therefore he is exalted for it at his account

¹ See Chaps. XXIV, XXV.

² M14 has 'or they do not solemnize *them*, after which the information arrives,' which is clearly inconsistent with the context. When a person dies away from home, and the ceremonies are not performed on the spot, they must be performed at his home immediately after information of his death arrives, and the three succeeding days are considered as representing the three days after the death (see Sls. XVII, 6).

³ Comp. Chap. VIII, 5.

in the three *days*, and it comes on for his *being* exalted. 7. When that which is conducted afterwards comes on for aiding *his being* exalted in the three *days* of the account, that which *was* conducted by him himself beforehand is more hopeful *and* more certain of being exalted in that position.

8. On account of there being also a diminution (aītō-*k* gahīdārīh) of risk about their own souls, in the event of (min zak aīgh hat) their children not ordering the three *days' ceremonial*, or it not being possible to solemnize *it* at that time, it is desirable to order, in their own lifetime and *at* their own convenience, *the ceremony for* their own living souls, advisedly, without doubt, and *having* appointed the *mode of life* of the three *days*, and also to appoint by will him who is to conduct *it* in the end. 9. And when both are conducted, the increase of good works and exaltation, though the end is not possible, or is not proceeded *with*—and the previous good works are commendable, and, therefore, preservatory—*has* reached even unto the most lordly wishes.

10. *As to* the man *with* great *and* powerful children, to whom the ceremonial of the three *days* for himself *at* the final day, *and* also the progress of many good works *have* seemed certain, *but* on account of yet another way to freedom from doubt effectually (frārâsthâ) existing, he *has* bequeathed the conduct of the three *days' ceremonial*, and also other good works, unto *his* children, in order that *the ceremony for* the living soul *may be* conducted *at* the final day, with him the angels are in triumph, the glory of the religion in the most lordly glory, *and* the solemnizers of ceremonial worship are many.

11. Then, moreover, owing to the contest of the

demons—so unjust that *on* the day of his passing *away* it is due to the uncleanness (apâdyâvîh) which *has* attained unto *its full* extent¹—all the solemnizers *in* the country, of the acts of worship solemnized, *may have* become thoroughly doubtful of the worship, and until it goes on to the disciples, and the ceremony is prepared, it is not proper to perform the whole ceremonial; in that way is manifested the great advantage *and* commendableness which *arises* from that ceremony *for* his living soul.

12. The nature of *the ceremony* ordered *for* the living soul is a counterpart of the three *days*, so *it* is needful that *at* all times of the three days *and* nights, successively emancipative (avadigînisnik), a ceremonial *in honour* of Srôsh² *be* always conducted, and *that* it proceed; and a fire is lighted in the ceremonial, and the clean ligature of the limbs is to be tied. 13. As a rule it is so considered that³ in the three days *there* are fifteen⁴ ceremonies (yastanö) *in honour* of Srôsh, and three sacred cakes (drôn)⁵ which are consecrated in each dawn (bâm-1) with various dedications; and the fourth day they solemnize the Visparad⁶, the portion⁷ of the righteous guardian spirits (ardâi fravardö). 14. And there

¹ The corpse being considered utterly unclean.

² See Chap. XIV, 4.

³ The following clause, about the three days, is omitted in M₁₄, which skips from 'that' to 'the fourth day.'

⁴ The Pers. Rivâyats merely say that four priests are employed, two at a time, so as to relieve each other in the continuous series of ceremonies for three days and nights.

⁵ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁶ Here written Visparêdö (see Chap. XLV, 6).

⁷ Reading bôn, instead of nûb; M₁₄ omits the word.

are fugitives of families of the period, *and* other still further diminishers¹ of good works, who *have* wished to produce the wealth which is necessary to perform advantageously, as a custom of the soul in those three days, one *celebration* of all the religious rites (hamâk dînd) *in honour* of Srôsh, *and* the consecration of three sacred cakes for Srôsh every day; and the third night, at dawn², the consecration of a sacred cake *dedicated in* three modes. 15. In accomplishing the *consecration of the* sacred cake specially for the righteous guardian spirits, *on* the fourth day, *one* is supposed to order a Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *in honour* of the righteous guardian spirits, *and* the rest of the ceremonial.

16. And *he* who *has* intended much more laudably is declared *as* the more devout and more judicious of worshippers; and for the sake of the ceremonial he is cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁴, *and* is to practise other descriptions of cleanliness as regards *his* body and clothing. 17. While in the performance of the ceremonial, bread *made* from corn which is ground *by* those of the good

¹ M14 has 'there are ghostly observers of the families of the period, *and* many other teachers.' But the original meaning was, no doubt as in K35, that there were many persons at that period who would have been glad to possess the means of ordering even a small portion of the proper rites for the dead.

² That is, at dawn on the fourth day. The rites here mentioned seem to have been considered as the minimum that could be approved.

³ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁴ A tedious ceremony of purification, lasting nine nights and detailed in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV). Its name is the Av. word which commences the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person (Vend. IX, 48), and means 'the top' of the head.

religion, wine from that made *by* those of the good religion, *and* meat from the animal¹ which is slaughtered in the ceremonial are eaten; *and one* is to proceed into the abode of fires² and of the good, *and* to abstain from the rest of the other places which are dubious³ *and* food which is dubious. 18. And with that thorough heedfulness *one* is to conduct and order that ceremonial in the abode of the ever-growing fire, or other fire of Varahrân⁴; whereby his numerous good works are effectual, *and* the path of good works⁵ is very broad. 19. Concerning⁶ the suffering of *him* whose capability in that which is his preserving efficacy⁷ is less, it is thus revealed, that not he who is righteous is overwhelmed, as *it were* unwilling, by incapability⁸.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. *As to* the eighty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* a man who shall order a ceremonial *and* shall give the money (diram), and the man who shall undertake his ceremonial

¹ A goat or sheep is meant by gôspend here.

² The fire temple, in, or near, which the priests ('the good') reside.

³ Or, var-hômand may mean 'open to choice,' but it is generally used as the opposite of aêvar, 'certain.'

⁴ Sacred fire (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

⁵ Over the *Kinvad* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

⁶ Reading râf, instead of lâ, 'not,' here, and *vice versa* further on in the sentence, as in M14.

⁷ That is, in good works. M14 omits the word 'less.'

⁸ The construction of this quotation is suggestive of its being a literal translation from the Avesta.

and shall take his money, *but has* not performed the ceremonial, what is then the decision; and what is then the decision *about* the man who ordered the ceremonial?

2. The reply is this, that the merit of a ceremonial not performed is not set going, and does not come to the soul of the undertaker who shall take money for it, *nor even to* that of the orderer who gave money for it. 3. But, *as to* him who is the orderer, since his mental meritoriousness is so steadfast that he gave his money, the efficacy (tûbân) of the good work, mentally his own, *has* not stayed *away* from him, because he gave money authorisedly for the good work; the decision, then, *about* him is such as *about him* to whom harm occurs in performing a good work for the religion. 4. It is said that the angels so recompense him that he does not consider it as *any* other harm; and as much as the good money given¹ for the sacred feast² *and* ceremonial is then the pleasure *which* comes unto his soul, as much as would have been possible to arise in the world from that money.

5. And he who shall take his money, and did not perform his ceremonial, is just as though he had abstracted from the angels³ and the righteous guardian spirits, *and* destroyed, as much propitiation as would have been possible from that ceremonial; and he is, therefore, overwhelmed by it⁴, and expiates *it* in the soul.

¹ M₁₄ has 'the money given by him,' which may be correct.

² See Chap. XLVII, 1.

³ K₃₅ has 'the good.'

⁴ Or, we might perhaps read 'thereby it is his overwhelming (astariđđö),' supposing astariđđö to be a technical term implying a

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Is it necessary for a priestly man¹ *that* he should undertake all the religious rites and other ceremonials, or in what way is it?

2. The reply is this, that a priestly man should necessarily undertake all the religious rites *and* other ceremonials, because the deciding and advising performers of the ceremonial, *these* same priestly men, well understand the merit *or* demerit, the propriety *or* impropriety, of the ceremonial. 3. When the undertaker *and* conductor of all the religious rites is a priestly man, *one* is more hopeful of *their* progress in merit.

4. *As to* the priestly man who shall undertake all the religious rites, if *he be* living comfortably (hû-zîvisnō) on a share of our house-rulership²,

flogging, as appears probable from a passage in Farh. Okh. p. 34, ll. 1, 2, which, when restored to its form in the oldest MSS., runs as follows:—Astarīdanō âskârîh astaraspân snas pavan vinâs, which may be translated 'the manifestation of "overwhelming" is the blow of horsewhips for sin;' assuming that astarasp is equivalent to aspô astar, the usual translation of Av. aspahê astraya, 'with a horsewhip.'

¹ The term magavôg-gabrâ probably means strictly 'a man of a priestly family,' as distinguished from a priest appointed from the laity, an appointment that seems to have been occasionally made in former times (see Bd. Introd. p. xxxiii, note 1). According to the Nîrangistân any virtuous man or woman can perform certain priestly duties under certain circumstances (see Sls. X, 35), but would not, of course, be magavôg, 'priestly, or of priestly family.'

² Reading mânpatîh, instead of magôpatîh, 'priesthood,' which words are often confounded in Pahlavi, being written very nearly alike. And assuming that hatôm, 'if my,' stands for hatômân, 'if our;' M₁₄ has a tûkhsh, 'without exertion,' but hatôs, 'if his,' would be a more probable emendation, as it occurs in the next section.

village-rulership, tribe-rulership, and province-rulership, and his needful support of religion remain the consideration as to his living comfortably, and he have no need for the stipend of all the religious rites, then the rule for him is to distribute properly that recompense of the sacred feast¹, which is to be given *for* all the religious rites, among the solemnizers². 5. If *it be* needful for him, the priestly man, as he is suitable, is not changed—whereby good management is not attained—and *if it be* needful even for his consideration of all those religious rites, his performance in the duty and ministration is then an approval of worthiness *and* management. 6. When they shall act so, all those religious rites are more meritoriously managed; and one day the solemnizers are brought from the fag-end (*sar*) into the rank of priestly manhood, which is the stipend for all the religious rites that they shall expressly take authorisedly, and are, therefore, worthy of it³.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

I. *As to* the eighty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is it desirable to give

¹ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

² That is, if the chief priest has already a sufficient income, he is not to appropriate the fees for such occasional ceremonies, but to distribute them among his assistants, who are the actual solemnizers.

³ That is, when the chief priest requires the fees for his own support, the reward of his assistants must be the fact that they are rendering themselves competent to undertake the responsibility of the chief priest at some future time.

in excess the gift *for* the ceremonial *which* it is not desirable to diminish?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is proper not to diminish a gift where *it is* the gift¹ for a ceremonial, and the reasons for it are many. 3. One is this, that a gift is the money which in another good work suffices for the accomplishment of the good work, *and* the good work of a righteous gift² is a great good work, *and* not to diminish *it* is sure worthiness among the explainers. 4. When the sacred feast³ *and* the gift for the ceremonial are supplied in excess, even that which is an excess of gift is an excess of liberality to the performers of the ceremonial, *and has* realized (frârâstö) an excess of good works that is commendable.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. *As to* the eighty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* a gift for the ceremonial *which* they do not reduce, and while they give *it* in excess, in what manner is then its great advantage, *and* how *and* in how many modes is it possible to occur?

2. The reply is this, that the advancement of the ceremonial of the sacred beings is by so much as the gift is more fully given; and the great advantage of the good work is more, and its reasons many, therefrom. 3. The desire of this wealth, which *has* come for the sake of the good work, is an experience

¹ M14 omits the repetition of the words aïgh dahisnö-ï.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

of the comfortable living of the angels, by whom the solemnizers are aggrandized, and is proper apart from *its* great judiciousness; to diminish *it* is improper.

4. When the gift *for* the ceremonial is abundantly given, the performers of the ceremonial, who, with much trouble annoying them, *have* solemnized the Avesta *and* chanted the hymns (Gâthas), and obtain the stipend of their solemnizing from the remuneration *of* the solemnization, are living comfortably, thriving, and blessed. 5. And also the undertakers of all the religious rites who, by means of the hope of rightful religion, render *one* certain as to the way *to* the distant awful place¹, and tempt the longers for righteousness into the religion², undertake all the religious rites *and* ceremonial *of* the sacred beings for the sake of the stipend of proper diligence.

6. And reasoning thought is cognizant as regards the advantageousness due to the undertakers and solemnizers of all the religious rites, and a great stipend is more obtained and observed *for them* than for *any* other profession. 7. The sons, too, of priests and disciples strive for the words prayed³, and are more eager for their prayers; and many, likewise, shall engage for all the religious rites, and become more diffusive of the religion (dînô bâlisniktar); and, in like manner, the proper, more attainable, *and* more propitious path of the good for saving the soul becomes wider⁴.

¹ The place of account (see Chap. XX, 3). Or, it may be, 'render one certain, in the course of time, regarding the awful place (hell).'

² M14 adds 'and acquire good works.'

³ That is, they are more diligent in learning the prayers by heart.

⁴ Referring to the *Kinvađ* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. *As to* the eighty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is possible to become the harm of a gift *that* is reduced?

2. The reply is this, that since *those things* are to be properly given which are for the religious rites of the ceremonial¹, and are the consideration of the undertakers of all the religious rites, and are also the stipend of some solemnizers, both² are living comfortably *by* the ceremonial. 3. The sons of the disciples *who* wanted approval for the words prayed, become so much the more to be ordered *and* to be accepted; and the ceremonial of all the religious rites becomes more progressive.

4. So, moreover, when they go to undertake the well-operating activity of the ceremonial for a diminution of remuneration *and* gift, and owing to undertaking *and* ordering again³, by way of routine (pavan dōr rās), they do not request so much stipend, *it is* as though they should buy my linen *and* should sell *it* again for their own payment (dādānō). 5. *As to* the performers of the ceremonial, likewise, who *have* to acquire approval with much trouble and words prayed, and obtain a remuneration which, for the soul even, is as little *for* the ceremonial as though *one were* annoyed—whereby

¹ M14 has merely 'since the proper donation for the ceremonial.'

² That is, both the undertakers and solemnizers, the chief priest and his assistants.

³ Referring to a priest who undertakes ceremonies and then directs inferiors to perform them (see Chap. LXVI, 4, 6).

living is difficult—they become sorry for enduring the trouble, owing to lukewarmness (*afsurdõ-minisnñh*) *in* the same profession. 6. And even the sons of the disciples shall sell linen for wages, and they rejoice *that* it is possible to learn other callings *with* less pains; and thus they make *them* become lukewarm *and* meditating retreat (*avâz-âhang*) from the words of fresh paragraphs continually prayed¹, from the approval requested of the learned (*âzân*), *and* from all the religious rites they should undertake *for* the contented.

7. *As to* those, moreover, who, through fervent-minded undertaking of *what* is ordered, request less *for* all the religious rites, *and have* not obtained² even that which is due *to them*, it is not even as though they ordered *of them* for the fiends³. 8. And the disgrace, too, of the orderers of good works of lukewarmness is the exaltation of the profession of the disciples; and its deficient progress becomes the paralysation of the ceremonial of the sacred beings for saving the souls of the good from the deadly *one* (*mar*).

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. *As to* the eighty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How is it good when they give a gift *for* the ceremonial?

¹ Literally 'prayed *and* prayed.'

² Reading *ayâft*, instead of the unintelligible *ayâdt*, as *d* has, no doubt, been written for *f*.

³ Meaning that the orderers would act more liberally if they wanted a ceremony even in honour of the fiends.

2. The reply is this, that as it is necessary, so that the ceremonial of the sacred beings *may* be more advanced, and such wealth *may* more come on to the good work, for the proper stipends of the undertakers *and* solemnizers—that they *may* become less lukewarm as regards the accompanying proprieties, and thereby diligent *in* performing *them*—and there is not in *it*¹ an express connection manifested with different work, and with that *which has* proceeded from so many previous good *people*, I deem the introduction *of it*² more expressly better.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As* family householders we of the good religion of Irân, before each *celebration* of all the religious rites with holy-water³ which they have provided in the land⁴ of Pârs, have then always given for it a gift of 400 dirhams, *or* 350 dirhams⁵ *at* least. 2. And now if *we* should be needy, when we deduct something from the 400 dirhams, or from the 350 dirhams, of the gift for them, they would then not accept *it* from us, and speak thus: 'Less than 400, or than 350, dirhams we do not⁶ accept.' 3. *But* there are needy *men*

¹ The ceremonial. ² The gift. ³ See Chap. LXVI, 17.

⁴ Reading bûm, as in M14, instead of the barmanö, 'son,' of K35.

⁵ About 140 or 122½ rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 note). As in Chap. LXVI, the actual value of these sums of money depended upon the price of the necessaries of life in the ninth century.

⁶ K35 repeats the negative, but whether this is a blunder, or intended to intensify the negation, is uncertain.

who always come to us themselves and speak thus : 'For 350 dirhams we will always twice conduct all the religious rites *and* ceremonial with holy-water such as *those* which you have always ordered before for 400; only order us.' 4. Would a needy *one*, *apart* from the priestly men *who* always say that they are not, be authorised, or not?

5. The reply is this, that the priest *to whom your predecessors have* given a gift of 400 or 350 *dirhams*, for all the religious rites with holy-water, it is proper to consider particularly virtuous *and* faithful, when there is nothing else *about* him, on account of which he is otherwise. 6. A *celebration of* all the religious rites with holy-water, in which they shall use four pure animals¹—*and* just according to the teaching of the high-priests they present *to* every single fire from one animal *and* one holy-water—and the offering of holy-water unto the fire whose holy-water *it is*, and bringing it on to another fire *apart* from that holy-water, and the *ceremonial* cleansing of the holy-water they maintain by agreement in thy name, the superiors solemnize with approval, faithfully, and attentively; *and* the remuneration of 350 dirhams would be a balancing of when they conduct the religious rite *at* the place of undertaking *it*, *and* when *it* is undertaken as regards a distant district².

7. In Artakhshatar-gadman³, within my memory,

¹ Sheep or goats.

² That is, it is a fair average charge.

³ The Huz. form of Ardashîr-khurrah, the name given by Ardashîr son of Pâpak, the first Sasanian king, to the city and district of Gôr, subsequently called Pîrûzâbâd (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 11, 19), about seventy miles south of Shîrâz.

they who would accept less than 300 dirhams¹ for it made a memorandum (*farhâng*), to keep in remembrance *that* 350 dirhams for all the religious rites performed *was* to be the rule declared by those of the religion *in* Artakhshatar-gadman. 8. Likewise, the glorified Ātūr-frôbag², *son* of Farâkhûzâd, who was the pre-eminent leader of those of the good religion, decided *in* the same manner.

9. And now, too, they always conduct those *rites* which are without holy-water for 150 dirhams, *or* even for 120 dirhams³; and the reason of it is the neediness of the disciples who, owing to that need, *and* in hope of obtaining more employment, always diminish *their demands*, *and* through deficient remuneration always become more needy, more importunate, and more moderate in desiring remuneration; and, in the course *of* the employment of resources and requesting *the charge* of all the religious rites, the labour and endurance of discipleship are exhausted.

10. And *as to* him who undertakes to conduct all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, if *he be* properly working *and* thoroughly reliable *for* the 350 dirhams *which* are always given him for the ceremonial of all the religious rites—just like those who would always undertake *them* once—and all the religious rites are conducted *and* secured twice, on

¹ About 105 rûpîs.

² The name of an early editor of the *Dinkard*, whose selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that extensive work in its present form. He lived after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, and probably in the eighth century of the Christian era.

³ That is, 52½ or 42 rûpîs.

account of the merit due to the continuous ceremonial of the sacred beings it is more authorisedly ordered of those who solemnize all the religious rites twice¹. 11. But *as* to *him* who would undertake all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, *but* is not able to conduct *them* unless he puts to it *some* of his own wealth, so that the progress *may be* acceptable to him as they conduct *them* through repetition, he should not undertake *them* owing to the reasons written in another chapter of ours², since *it tends* much more to neediness.

12. And more like unto the ancient sceptics (vimānakō) *have* become the disciples, among whom disagreement *and* enmity are produced, as is written in the same writing (khadû-gûn nâmakō)³; *and*, owing to admonishing words, these *become* enviousness and maliciousness unto the disciples, *and* trouble *and* disagreement less becoming among you and more contentious about you.

13. And at the time *in* which a great stipend existed, *they* contended with him through whose greatness *and* abundance of stipend their conflict was caused, one with the other, through envy; and now, too, they always squabble *about* his deficient stipend, by which they will tempt them, on account of *its* inadequacy, for the sake of a way for preserving life, as was shown by my metaphor in the other chapter⁴. 14. When those who, through need of *employment in the rites of* religion, or the recitations⁵

¹ This is also stated in Chap. LXVI, 32.

² See Chap. LXVI, 24-26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Chap. LXVI, 28, 29.

⁵ It is uncertain whether these are the correct technical meanings of kēsh and dōr.

which are its wisdom, would at once produce enmity, and the friends of religion, are for each *of* two sides, *it* is important to look to the procuring of forgiveness, kind regards, and the progress of the elect (pasandakânö) in the duty of the faithful.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. *As to* the eighty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: When a man resolves within himself thus: '*In* the summer¹ time I *will* go into Pârs, and will give so much money for the high-priesthood, on account of the fires *and* other matters which are as greatly advantageous,' though he himself does not come into Pârs, *but* sends the money according to his intention, *or* in excess of it, unto the high-priests—so that he is like the great *who* send in excess of that unto the high-priests²—that, as the benefit is greater which is more maintained, they may provide for the fires of every kind *and* other matters, is then his proceeding of sending to Pârs, for that purpose, a sin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that if his coming be indispensable for the design he would undertake, then it is indispensable for him to accomplish his own mental undertaking; but in suffering which is excited *and* not avoidable, when *there* is really no possibility

¹ Assuming that hâmân stands for hâmînô.

² M14 omits this phrase.

of his travelling himself, any one whom he sends in his place, more particularly on *that* account, is not acceptable by the approval of the angels who *have* realized the affliction in *his* good thought, but the good work is to be eagerly well-considered. 3. Good gifts, and every office (*gâs*) about good works which it is possible to perform, are what are commendable *in* the well-housed *man* that is not able to work *himself*¹; *they are* avoidable by him when not of good race, and are not indispensable for him whenever the good work is not announced. 4. When able to manage *it* himself *it* is better; and when otherwise, his appointment of a faithful *person* over *its* preparation, and *his* accomplishment of the work of selector are expedient.

CHAPTER XC.

1. *As to* the eighty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who, and how many are they who are without the religion (*adînôth*) *but* are made immortal, and for what purpose is their immortality? 2. Where is the place they, each one, possess sovereignty, and *in* the place where they possess sovereignty are *there* people of the good religion of every kind, or how are they; are *there* sacred fires² and appointed worship, or how is

¹ M₁₄ adds, 'he longs for good giving *and* good consideration; important *and* virtuous is he when able to do it;' but the sentence is hardly grammatical.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân' (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

it; and for what purpose is each one of their sovereignties?

3. The reply is this, that the immortal rulers of the region of glory, Khvantras¹, are said to be seven: one is Yōstō, son of Fryân²; the Avesta name of one is Yakhmâyûsad³, son of the same Fryân; the name of one is Fradhakhstō, son of the Khumbîks⁴; the name of one is Ashavazang, son of Pôrudakhstōih⁵; one is the tree opposed to harm⁶;

¹ The central one of the seven regions of the earth, which is supposed to contain all the countries best known to the Irānians, and to be as large as the other six regions put together (see Bd. XI, 2-6). The name is here corrupted into Khvanāiras.

² Av. Yōistō yō Fryananām of Âbân Yt. 81, Fravarđin Yt. 120, who had to explain ninety-nine enigmas propounded to him by the evil Akhtya. In Pâz. this name is corrupted into Gōst-î Fryânō, whose explanation of thirty-three enigmas propounded by Akht the wizard, and proposal of three enigmas in his turn form the subject of a Pahlavi tale published with AV. He is not included among the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 5, 6, and Dk. (see § 8, note), but is one of those specified in Byt. II, 1.

³ No doubt, the Av. Ashem-yahmâi-usta ('righteousness for which be blessing') who precedes Yōistō in Fravarđin Yt. 120. He is the Asâm-î Yamâhurst of Bd. XXIX, 5, who is said to reside in the district of the river Nâivtāk; but he is not mentioned in Dk. The names Yakhmâyûsad, Fradhakhstō, and Ashavazang are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their irregular spelling.

⁴ Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravarđin Yt. 138. In Dk. he is said to be ruler on the Nâivtāk waters, but in Bd. he is called Parsadgâ Hvembya residing in the plain of Pêsyânsai.

⁵ Av. Ashavazdang the Pourudhâkhstiyan of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravarđin Yt. 112. He is the Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst in Bd., and is said to rule in the plain of Pêsyânsai in Dk.

⁶ The many-seeded tree, said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and also in Airân-vêg, on which the Saēna bird (simurgh) is supposed to sit and shake off the seeds, which are then conveyed by the bird Kamrōs to the waters gathered by Tistar, who rains them down on the earth with the water; hence the growth of fresh vegetation when the rainy season commences (see Rashnu Yt. 17, Bd. XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5, Mkh. LXII, 37-42).

one is Gôpatshah¹; *and* one is Peshyôtanû², who is called after the *Kîtravôkô-miyânô*³.

4. The reign of Gôpatshah is over the land of Gôpatô⁴, coterminous with Airân-vêg⁵, on the bank (bâr) of the water of the Dâitih⁶; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs⁷, through whom occurs the complete perfection of primitive man⁸. 5. The reign of Peshyôtanû is in Kangdez⁹, *and* he resides in the illustrious Kangdez which the noble Sîyâvash¹⁰ formed through his glory, *he* who is called the erratic youth¹¹ of the illustrious Kayânians. 6. And through his powerful spirit *arose* increase of cultivation and the ruler Kai-Khûsrôî¹² among the highest of the mountains in the countries of

¹ Either a title or son of Aghrêrad, brother of Frâsîyâv of Tûr (see Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20-22). He is a righteous minotaur according to Mkh. LXII, 31-36.

² Here written Patshâyôtanû, but he is the Peshyôtanû of Chap. XXXVII, 36.

³ The *Katru-miyân* river in Kangdez (see Bd. XX, 31).

⁴ Which is a non-Aryan country according to Dk., but Bd. (XXIX, 5) calls it 'the land of the *Saukavastân*,' and Mkh. (XLIV, 24-35, LXII, 31) places Gôpatshah in Airân-vêg.

⁵ See Chap. XXI, 2.

⁶ Av. Dâitya, a river which flows out of Airân-vêg (see Bd. XX, 13).

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

⁸ Referring either to the complete peopling of the earth by emigration on the back of this ox in ancient times, or to the immortality produced at the resurrection by tasting an elixir, of which the fat of this ox is one of the ingredients.

⁹ A settlement east of Persia formed, or fortified, by Sîyâvash (see Bd. XXIX, 10, Byt. III, 25).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVII, 36.

¹¹ Or *kang-î raftâr* may mean 'jaunty youth;' but it is evidently an attempt to account for the name Kangdez as 'the fortress of the kang ("youth").'

¹² The son of Sîyâvash (see Chap. XXXVI, 3, Bd. XXXI, 25).

Irân and Tûrân; the purity of the sacred fire¹ of great glory and the recital of the liturgy exist there, and the practice of religious rites (dînô) is provided.

7. The custom, also, of him (Peshyôtanû) and his companions and coadjutors (ham-bâr), in the appointed millenniums, is the great advancement of religion and good works in other quarters likewise².

8. But, secondly, as to the whereabouts of the places which are theirs—just like his—of which there is no disquisition by me, this also is even owing to my not remembering³.

¹ Literally 'fire of Varahrân.'

² He is expected to be summoned by the angels to restore the religious rites to the world, after the conflict of the nations in a future age (see Byt. III, 25-42).

³ In the detailed account of the contents of the Sûdkar (or Stûdgar) Nask, given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, the latter part of its fifteenth fargard is said to have been 'on the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khvanîras, and also about the determination of their glory, and the goodness, too, of their assistants and living sovereignty in both worlds. The tree opposed to harm is on Aîrân-vêg in the place of most excavations (frêh-nigânân?). Gôk-patô is in the non-Aryan countries. Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp is in Kangdez of the hundred-ribbed shape (sad-dandakô kerpîh?), in which a myriad of the exalted, who wear black marten fur (m ûn sîyah samûr yakhsenund), are righteous listeners out of the retinue of Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp. Frâdakhstô son of the mortal Khûmbîks, who is sovereign on the water of Nâîvtâk. Ashavazd son of Pôrûdakhstô, who is sovereign over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pêsinâs. Barâzd the causer of strife. And of the father-in-law's race (khast-tômagag?) of the famous Vistâsp is he who is called Kaî-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers, and also understands about it; and who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world maintains my doings with benedictions. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

In this list of the immortal rulers of ancient times, the names of Barâzd and Kaî-Khûsrôî are substituted for those of Yôstô and

CHAPTER XCI.

1. *As to the ninetieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: From what is the sky made, and with what is it prepared?*

2. The reply is this, that the sky is a dome (*gardûn*), wide *and* lofty; its inside and whole width and boundaries (*âkhyakthâ*), besides its material existence, are the stone of light, of all stones the hardest¹ *and* most beautiful; and the grandeur of its spirit *and* even *its* internal bow² are like *those of* mighty warriors arrayed. 3. And that material of the sky reached unto the place *where* promise-breaking words exist³, *and* was without need of preparation; *as* it is said *of* places such as those—where wisdom is a witness about *them*—that *that* which is not even itself a place, and its place does not yet exist, is without need of any preparing⁴.

4. The light is for existing things, and they cherish a faculty (*nîyûth*) of motion also of two

Yakhmâyûsad in our text. Barâzd is the Ibairaz of Bd. XXIX, 6, and, possibly, the Av. Berezyarsti of Fravarâin Yt. 101.

¹ The same notion as that indicated in Genesis by the word 'firmament.'

² The rainbow.

³ Probably meaning that the sky extends downwards, below the horizon, as far as the second grade of hell, that for 'evil words,' Dûs-hûkht (see Sls. VI, 3, note).

⁴ The word *dîvâk*, 'place' (*zîvâk* in the Sasanian inscription of Naq̄s-i Rustam, but traditionally pronounced *gînâk*), seems to be here taken in the etymological sense of *zîvâk*, that is, 'a living-place.' The text refers to the period, in the beginning, when the sky was indefinite space unprepared for the residence of creatures and merely a region of light (see Bd. I, 2), the light mentioned in § 4. Its preparation is referred to in §§ 8, 9.

kinds, *that* causing motion *and that* of movables¹; as mobility is mentioned about thought² and immobility about material things. 5. Immovables are not moved, while movables are moved by their power of movement; and those movables, that way causing motion, are afterwards themselves a moving secret cause of motion, and then a cause of motion is not moving the movable, since *it* is not incapable of causing motion secretly by movement of itself. 6. Just as the force (kûnîsnö) of a movement exists *and* does not become a force; only then it is declared by wisdom, that the causers of motion have been the causing of motion by force before movement, *and, being* unmoved, they are subsequently made to move by the force; later on, the causers of motion *have* to cause motion, by their power of causing motion, *in* the non-causers of motion, from which it is certain though the force of a movement exists it does not become a force; but, finally, that *which is* prepared with a source of activity³, before force, becomes unmoved.

7. Natures without need of the trouble of a preparer are distinguished from such; where movement occurs through every force, the championship of a position (gâh) not made to move—except, indeed, *of that* whose force, when it is unmoved by other force, is its own—is unmoving and thirstless⁴. 8. *It*

¹ M14 has 'movables *and* immovables' instead of this clause.

² Perhaps we should read 'the spirits,' by inserting an additional medial stroke in the Pahlavi word.

³ Reading tûkhshînikîhâ, instead of the unintelligible tûkhshtîkîhâ. The author has so nearly lost sight of his argument in the mazes of his verbiage that there is some uncertainty about the translation of this paragraph.

⁴ That is, the guardians of a place exposed to all attacks (as

was restored immovably when *there was* an approach to the sky of that actual contender for the place, the fiend, and the sky *was* shaken by him; for connected with the sky *were* arranged so many possessors of all resources, dignified (afrankid) by their own all-powerful position and that well-operating, mighty, undrawn bow¹, righteous and well-discoursing (hû-fravakhsh), and many good spirits, gloriously co-operating for the preparation of the sky. 9. For that which *was* not even itself a place², when *it* is thus henceforth really a place, is *in* want of preparing; and, in the preparation of that visible³ place, with the material of the sky is mingled that triumphing, powerful spirit who made its existence a seeking for principle and seeking for intention, drawing up from below and drawing down from above, so that through that seeking for principle it becomes a concord, the resting-place of united champions, and unadmonishable through that power of seeking for intention; such as this *it is* if, indeed, *it be* the will of him, the creator of all goodness.

10. And it is said summarily that the sky *was* shaken in the *period of* disturbance and restored *with* trouble; and, if the guardian spirits are in freedom from disturbance through the glory of the creator, when there is not even a place for it prepared by themselves⁴, and *their* nature and own

the sky is supposed to be), unless it is a stronghold in itself, must be always on the alert.

¹ The rainbow; reading atang dar ūn.

² That is, 'a living-place' (see § 3 n).

³ Reading dîdō, 'seen;'; but it may be stō for stî, 'material.'

⁴ That is, while the sky was still indefinite space, the region of light, but no dwelling-place; although the guardian spirits had

strength are approving the trouble of preparation, it is not moved¹, except by the creatures of *his* will, a will which is subduing.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. *As to* the ninety-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Of waters and rivers, and whatever water is good, is Arekdvisûr² the greatest (mas), or *some* other water or good river; and, again, where is the place of Arekdvisûr?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* the water of Arekdvisûr; and *what has* gushed from Arekdvisûr is as large a mass as all the water in the world³ except the Arvand⁴; within the wide-formed ocean⁵ *it* is dominant over the thousand cascades (pashan) *and* thousand lakes⁶ of the waters, and its place is most *renowned* throughout the spheres. 3. There flows the water of Arekdvisûr in a forest, the source of all seeds, whereby the species *which* plants possess are assimilated (aêdûnagîdö) by it, *and* healing existences of all kinds are mingled *with it* from medicinal plants. 4. The abundant power of the

been created as representatives of the creatures, both spiritual and material, which were to be afterwards produced (see Bd. I, 8).

¹ That is, when afterwards prepared as a dwelling-place the sky remains unmoved by evil beings.

² See Chap. XXXVII, 118.

³ Compare Yas. LXIV, 12, Âbân Yt. 3.

⁴ A name of the river Tigris (see Zs. VI, 20).

⁵ As this ocean is supposed to encircle the world, the whole earth is within it.

⁶ Compare Yas. LXIV, 17, Âbân Yt. 4, 101.

coming of healing to the purifying water is like the nature of the existences which it acquires, *and* then the nature which it thus acquires for its own the water draws up by the power which is drawing water to itself.

5. The water of Arekdvistur is on Albûrz¹, and flows even to the summit of the star station during the coming of the healing of purification, even unto Húkhir the lofty², all-gorgeous *and* brilliant; thence *its* flowing is effected³ into the lake of a summit to Albûrz, Mount Aûs, hindûm⁴, which is in the middle of the wide-formed ocean. 6. And from that flowing of waters that destined river, the utter destruction of every night, comes on in the light of a dawn; by the sprinkling of spray (pash-pashanö) it extends through the seven regions *of the earth*, and from it arise the growth of their plants *and* the coming of the healing of purification; that which is called a drop (srîsk) of the primeval creatures *being* a particle (aham) of water of the bulk of a horse⁵.

¹ The chain of mountains supposed to surround the world and reach to heaven (see Chap. XX, 3, Bd. XII, 1, 3); owing to its height any water from its summit must flow downwards to reach the lowermost grade of heaven, called the star station.

² Av. Hukairya berezô, the Húgar of Bd. XII, 5, XXIV, 17, probably a western summit of the mythic Albûrz.

³ M14 and J have nikûnî-aîtö, 'is precipitated,' instead of kûnî-aît.

⁴ The Av. us Hindvad, 'up the Hindva,' of Tistar Yt. 32, a mountain summit where the clouds gather; it is the Aûsindôm mountain of Bd. XII, 6, XIII, 5, said to be of the ruby material of the sky. In Bd. XIII, 4 the lake is said to be on the summit of Húgar.

⁵ Referring to the term aspô-kehrpa applied to waters in Haftân Yt. 13, Tistar Yt. 8, 46.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. *As to* the ninety-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: From what place should Tistar¹ seize the water? How does it pass into a cloud, and how does he make the cloud move on? How does it rain upon the world? How can he carry on a struggle with demons, and with which demon can he carry *it* on? How does this always happen with the hail and snow, whenever hail and snow occur? And who can force away that hail and snow?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests have thus said, that Tistar seizes a place *which* is called 'abysmal' (vârûnak)², that is the last place of filtration in the ocean, *and* there are no removal of *any* kind and causing rain from any other place. 3. And the cause of its (the rain's) establishment is spiritually active, more particularly, however, through two kinds of material agency: one is that which is the rule (mang) in the atmosphere of the earth, whereby it is drawn up in atoms similarly to smoke, *and* in larger masses, well-soaring from the rivers; *and* one is that *which* blows with the power of the well-operating wind, and the blowing of the great united breath (ham-vâê) and strength of the com-

¹ The angel who is supposed to produce rain, being a personification of the star Tistar or Sirius. His production of rain and conflict with the demons of drought and thunder are detailed in Bd. VII, 1-13.

² Assuming that the word is meant as a translation of Av. vairya, a term which is applied to the depths or depressed basins of the ocean in Yas. LXIV, 17, 18, Âbân Yt. 101, Zamyâd Yt. 51.

munity (*kandīgânōih*) of spirits¹, from the fully perfect distillation (*pûr-hû-zûhîgih*) of the mighty ocean to the upper *regions*, and thereby the clouds are blown.

4. Afterwards, it (the rain) speeds in the cloud, through the great strength of the mighty wind, to where *there* is a necessity *for it*, to divert *it* from where *there* is no necessity; and so long as *there* is a necessity *for it* it (the cloud) discharges. 5. And when *there* is a necessity and it causes rain, and the necessity is *for no more* acquisitions of water, and the advantage is the effect of water upon the place, and it distributes *it* to the existing rivers for the use of the sea, and it causes rain *again*, it thereby produces even new water, new flowing, new coming of healing to plants, new growth, new golden colouring to lands, new purification to animals, new procreation, new proper breathings for other creatures, new dawn, and new *things of* that description. 6. The thriving of the world makes the advantage *and* perfection of the good creation increase; and, apart from a great craving for the effect of the glory of the spirits in the operations of cultivation and the performance of spiritual mysteries, *it* is said labours are aided even for *one* gloriously destined.

7. And Tistar in seizing the water should seize upon the great strength of the wind of whirlwinds (*gardînâkân*), which is figuratively (*mînîsnîk*) the dragging *and* blowing that follow the whirling; *and* the purified water is expanded *and* carried up aloft to the higher *regions* of the atmosphere, just as that

¹ Altering *mînîsnō*, 'thought,' into 'spirits' by inserting an extra medial stroke, as in M14 and J.

which is seen where it reaches up with the heaviness and weight of earth, and then is discerned in the plain¹ accompanied by the dragging of the whirling wind *which* would carry *it* afar to settle like *that* which is owing to dust; it (the atmosphere) is called Andarvâê ('the intermediate air'), and the wind is a whirlwind. 8. As the water is lighter, and owing to the more strongly dragging wind on the ocean than that which exists on the plain, so, also, the water from the ocean is much more in proportion, and transportable farther up than the dust² from the plain. 9. And as in the midst of a plain a medium whirlwind of wind is expanded into the wide plain by a medium dragging of the wind, and plenty of much buffeting is the violence of the dragging of winds, a whirlwind of wind which is seen very lofty and large is unknown; so, also, *one* is ignorant of what is spreading among the movements of the sea. 10. The water of that full and abundant flowing—which is through the power and glory of the heavenly angels and Tistar's control of the work—is blown up, both by the well-characterised water-drawing power, and also by the force of *various* kinds, the dragging, and upward blowing of the winds, into the atmosphere; and thence it rains the complete rain, as they *have* recounted from observation and much full evidence.

11. The demon who resists the *doings* of Tistar—and the glorious Tistar, meeting him, properly drives back such improper resistance of his—is

¹ Referring to the frequent small whirlwinds, sweeping up the dust, which accompany every complete change of wind in dry climates.

² K35 omits the first two letters of a frâ, 'dust,' by mistake.

a demon *of* the name of Apâôsh¹, which is interpreted as 'the destruction of water' (âp-aôsh). 12. He contends, moreover, with the uppermost *and* lowermost water; and desirous of *its* destruction that demon contends at three periods: first, for the non-existence of rain; secondly, for converting *it* into a cause of damage to a place; *and* thirdly, at the place of producing *it* with advantage; and the struggling is like a tree (vanô) which is set moving.

13. The seizers of the feminine² pure water are a benefit *for the existences* of the whole world; and the formation of rain, and the triumph and ascendancy of Tistar over the demon, through that seizing (falânih) of water, are due to the creator who strengthens him³, the archangels who have him assisted⁴, the religious who reverence him, *and* the worldly beings who glorify him. 14. Very properly do the archangels propitiate *him*, *and* mankind promote the strength and power, which are *engaged* about the business, by glorifying *and* invoking the good spirit who increases them in consequence of glorifying *and* worship, *and* through which

¹ Av. Apaosha, the demon of drought, who, in the form of a black horse, is said in the Tistar Yast to fight with Tistar in the ocean. Here his name is written Apâhôsh, but see Bd. VII, 8-12.

² Reading mâdagîk. According to Bd. XVI, 6 the sky, metal, wind, and fire are always male, while water, earth, plants, and fish are always female, and all other creations are of both sexes. Water and earth are also personified as female angels.

³ In his first encounter with Apâôsh, Tistar is vanquished, and attributes his defeat to his not being invoked by name in the ceremonies, whereupon Aûharmazd invokes him by name so as to give him enormous strength, when he returns to the conflict and conquers the demon (see Tistar Yt. 20-28, Bd. VII, 8-10).

⁴ Reading aîyyârînênd, as in M14 and J; in K35 it is written like âyênd rîvênd, 'they come *and* liberate.'

arises that advantageousness¹ of his—which owing to that benefit is the benefit of every one else—for this advantageous business.

15. And Tistar shall gradually (*padmanīkīhā*) seize upon the water to distribute *it* liberally, assiduously a similitude *of* that which a learned ruler said, in extolling a wise high-priest, that, 'just as the wind draws the up-flying water from rivers and springs *and* from seas, Tistar, through his own liberality, bestows the prepared apportionments of the whole production for the advantage of the creatures *by* the will of the sacred beings, and makes *it* rain. 16. And through that which he shall purposely seize to distribute suitably he distributes the water purified, he moistens the pleasant *existences* of animals *and* plants and spares² the polluted, he provides for the thirsty³, he causes harm to the dye-like bloody *one*, and he makes the world thrive. 17. When that wide-*spread* liberality of his, the production of rain, is from the pure, healing water which he shall thus seize gradually and with just apportionment, *and* when through that acquiring of water-seizings the rivers, springs, *and* other existences (*shavandagānō*) are well-expanding, and even the diminution which is owing to the wasting (*ātrikh-tagīh*) of rivers and springs does not occur thereby, *it is* thus, too, the lordly, by a law (*dādō*) moderate and varied—if the regulation (*gūn*) is to reach *away* from the region—are as much contributing, as

¹ Reading *sūḍakīh* instead of *ī yūḍakīh*, 'which is unity.'
M₁₄ has *nadūkīh*, 'benefit.'

² Or 'forgives' (*bakhshêdō*).

³ M₁₄ and J have 'he causes the thirsty to drink.'

Tistar is by causing rain for the region and the good, to the aggrandizement of the many grades¹ and the replenishment of the region and creatures².

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. And³ those of the primitive faith, the ancients of those acquainted with the religion⁴, thus considered, *that in the spirit of life* (ahvô)⁵ there is

¹ Or 'to the great aggrandizement of the grades.'

² Reading dâm, as in M14 and J, instead of gadman, 'glory.' The chapter appears to break off here, without any reference to the queries about hail and snow; but it is uncertain if any portion of the work be here omitted (owing to loss of folios in some older MS.) because the author does not always reply to all clauses of the questions, as may be noticed in Chap. XXXVII. One reason, however, for supposing that some of the text is here lost is the allusion, in Chaps. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, to a chapter no longer extant in Dd.

³ The first eleven sections of this chapter are quoted from the beginning of the sixth book of the *Dînkard*, which commences as follows:—'The propitiation of the creator *Aûharmazd* is even in the benedictions of the religion of *Mazda*-worship; this, too, *was* the settled decision of those of the primitive faith. The sixth *book* is on a compendium (*vasang*) which *was* prepared by those of the primitive faith to maintain about the sayings of the religion of *Mazda*-worship;' and then proceeds as in our text, with the variations and additional matter mentioned in the foot-notes. It is hardly probable that these quotations were intended as a conclusion to any reply, the beginning of which may be lost, as they refer to a variety of subjects; but they may have been selected by the author as authoritative opinions sufficiently comprehensive for his general peroration. At any rate they show that the *Dînkard* must have been in existence in its present form before the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* was written. All the MSS. have this peroration written continuously with the preceding chapter, without stop or break of any kind to indicate a change of subject.

⁴ Dk. has 'the ancients of the wise.' ⁵ Dk. adds 'of men.'

a thought and one appointed who¹ holds the position (gâs), and there is a fiend who stops² the way; and in the thought there is a word appointed which holds the position, and there is a fiend who stops the way³. 2. In the *spirit of life*⁴ is a thought and Spendarmad⁵ ('bountiful devotion') holds the position, and the fiend Tarômat⁶ ('scornful thought') stops the way; in the thought is a word and Ard⁷ ('the righteous') holds the position, and Varenô⁸ ('lust') stops the way; in the word is a deed and Dinô⁹ ('religion'), the good, holds the position, and self-conceit

¹ Dk. has 'which is appointed and,' &c.

² Literally 'holds.'

³ It is evident from the context that something is omitted here, and Dk. supplies the following:—'and in the word there is a deed for the appointed position, and there is a fiend who stops the way. And in the *spirit of life* is a heart (vâlôm) and Vohûman ("good thought") holds the position, and Akômanô ("evil thought") stops the way; and in the heart is a will and Srôsh ("attention") holds the position, and Aeshm ("wrath") stops the way.' It seems probable that the author did not mean to quote the latter sentence of this passage.

⁴ Dk. has 'and in the will.'

⁵ The female archangel, who is a personification of Av. spenta ârmaiti, and has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁶ Here written Tarôkmatö (Av. tarômaiti); he is the arch-demon of disobedience, also called Nâûnghas (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, XXX, 29).

⁷ Av. areta, a title of the female angel Arshisang or Ashisang (Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude'), whose name is given to the 25th day of the Parsi month (see Bd. XXII, 4, XXVII, 24, Sls. XXII, 25, XXIII, 4).

⁸ Av. varena, 'desire,' personified as a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25).

⁹ Av. daêna personified as an angel whose name is given to the tenth month and 24th day of the month of the Parsi year, and is also coupled with the names of other angels to form appellations

(khûd-dôshagth) stops the way. 3. We men of all descriptions¹ have to become very² cautious that, while we do not desist from that way³, we do not go on to the way of the demons *and* fiends⁴. 4. For the struggling of men⁵ is *in* these three⁶ ways and paths; *and* whoever is saved in these three⁶ ways and paths is saved from every place, and whoever is misled there comes into the hands of the demons *and* fiends⁷, and is thenceforth not master (salîtâ) of himself, except when he shall do that which the fiends order him⁸.

5. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that nature only is good when it⁹ shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self¹⁰; and that wisdom only is good when it thoroughly¹¹ understands *how* to utilize the advantage¹² of that happiness which has occurred, *and* shall¹³ not suffer vexation *on account of* harm which has not occurred; and that intellect only is good which

for the 8th, 15th, and 23rd days (see Bd. XXV, 3, 11, 20, Sls. XXII, 8, 15, 23, 24, XXIII, 4). Dk. omits the epithet 'good.'

¹ Dk. omits the words 'of all descriptions;' it also places § 3 after § 4.

² Dk. omits 'very.' ³ Dk. has 'from the way of the angels.'

⁴ Dk. has 'go after the fiends.'

⁵ Dk. has 'and the struggling of the fiend with men,' and places this section after § 2.

⁶ Dk. has 'such' instead of 'three' in both places.

⁷ Dk. has 'comes then to the hands of the fiends.'

⁸ Dk. then proceeds with § 3, 'and we men have to become cautious,' &c.

⁹ Dk. has 'which,' instead of 'when it,' both here and in the next clause.

¹⁰ Dk. has 'for itself.'

¹¹ Dk. omits 'thoroughly.'

¹² Literally 'to eat the fruit.'

¹³ Dk. has 'does.'

understands that it does not understand that which it does not understand.

6. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* is to become¹ a friend of every one, and this is thy nature²; also, bring them on into³ goodness, and this is thy wisdom; also, consider them as thine own, and this is thy religion; also, through them it shall produce⁴ happiness, and this is thy soul⁵.

7. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that, when⁶ *one* shall do even that which he knows to be sin⁷, that is disobedience, *and* disobedience is the nature of the adversary; when *one* shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work, that is cupidity (*varenôikih*), *and* cupidity is the wisdom of the adversary⁸; *and* when *one* shall do⁹ even that which he does not know *to be* a good work or a sin, until it comes fully to¹⁰ *his* knowledge,

¹ Dk. has 'it is the becoming.'

² Dk. has 'wisdom.'

³ Or 'through.' Dk. omits this clause, substituting 'and this, too, *was* thus considered by them.'

⁴ Dk. has 'do thou produce.'

⁵ Dk. continues as follows:—'And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that nature is that which deceives no one, wisdom is that which does not deceive itself, and religion is that which is whatever knows where *one* should perform good works.'

⁶ Reading *amat*, instead of *mûn*, 'which,' in all three clauses (see Chap. LXII, 4 n); Dk. omits the word altogether.

⁷ Dk. has 'shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work,' as in the second clause which it omits.

⁸ This clause is omitted by M₁₄, J, BK, and the oldest MS. of Dk.; later MSS. of Dk. give it as follows: 'should they do even that they know to be a sin, that is lustful (*varenôik*), and lustful is the wisdom of the adversary.'

⁹ Dk. has 'does.'

¹⁰ Dk. has 'before it comes unto.'

that is self-conceit, and self-conceit is the religion of the adversary¹.

8. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aharman² would do everything for the injury of Aûharmazd, *but* when it is done by him³ *it* is then an injury of him himself, *and* an advantage of Aûharmazd; and Aûharmazd would do everything for his own advantage, *and* when it is done by him *it* is then, indeed⁴, an advantage of him himself, *but* an injury of Aharman⁵.

¹ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—'And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that in *one's* nature there is no wisdom, *but* in wisdom *there* is nature, and in religion are both wisdom *and* nature. It is known *how* to manage the affairs of the spirit by the nature, they are preserved by wisdom, and the soul is preserved by a union of both. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that shame is that which should not allow *one* to commit sin, and disgrace is that it would not allow to cause. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the essential thing of the primitive faith is freedom from sin. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* becomes diligent about that *with* which *he* is conversant. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the good thoughts that are in the records of the religion of every kind *one should* always put fully into practice, so far as he understands *them*. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aûharmazd, the lord, produced these creatures through *his* nature, maintains *them* through wisdom, and forces them back to himself through religion.'

² The evil spirit (see Chaps. II, 11, XIX, 1).

³ Or 'when he has done it,' which would be expressed by the same words.

⁴ Dk. omits 'indeed.'

⁵ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—'And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that people are to keep an eye most diligently on the world *for* these three things: that which is realisable *by* a sinner through sin, a follower made famous, *and* to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits: and keeping their eye on the world is said *to be* this, that *it is he* who observes himself, so that *a part* of whatever he really desires he should always perform. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that three

9. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that a person of whatever description is to be kept¹ in remembrance of the affairs of the spirit at every period and time, and *of* the happiness of heaven *and* misery of hell at that period when comfort, happiness, and pleasure have come to him.

10. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them², that happiness, indeed, would be there, in the heaven of light³, when even here *it* is so happy, though, owing to many *things*⁴, Aharman—with whom the happiness there is not connected—is even here so happy at the time when distress, vexation, *and* misery have come hereto; *and* this, too, *was* thus considered, that evils, indeed, would be there, in hell, when here is such misery, though even here much *of* the earthly happiness *of* Aûhar-

things which are very difficult to do are even such as these: one is not to render the sinfulness famous by the sin; one is not to exalt the opinions of the fiend, and the various sovereignties of the evil *one*, for the sake of wealth; and one is to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits, *and* not from the world.'

¹ Dk. has merely 'keeps.'

² Dk. has 'this, too, is to be considered,' as a continuation of the preceding section.

³ Dk. omits 'of light.'

⁴ The oldest MS. of Dk. has 'though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as in the latter part of the section, omitting the passage referring to Aharman and hell; later MSS., however, insert a modified version of the omitted passage, and read as follows: 'When even here *it* is so happy at the period when it should be distressing *and* the mischievous vexation of much pain has come; this, too, is to be considered, that misery, indeed, is the calamity (âfatö) there, in hell, when even here *it* is so, though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as before. This interpolation in Dk. is evidently modern (as the word âfatö is Arabic and not Pahlavi), and was probably composed by a copyist in India who was acquainted with the text of Dk.

mazd—with whom the misery there is not connected—is here so evil.

11. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that person is the more fortunate¹, in whom are soundness of body, happiness, and energy (*râyinîsnö*)²; *who* has done those things *about* which the last wish of *him* who departs from the world is then thus: 'I *will* strive to do more;' *and who* shall have exercised much complete abstinence from those things *about* which his last wish, when he departs from the world, is then such as 'I *will* strive to do less, and it would have occurred more comfortably for my soul³.'

12. Do you good people of those of the good religion of these countries of Irân keep in use the laws appointed *by* those of the primitive faith who *were* high-priests, so that your bodies *may* become more renowned, *and your* souls more perfect, in the radiant supreme heaven which⁴ is the seat of *Aûharmazd* and the archangels, *of* the angels *and* all the guardian spirits of the righteous. 13. So these are so many answers of the questions provided, and are given explanatorily from the exposition of the religion *and* the statements of the high-priests *of*

¹ Dk. has 'that a person is most fortunate in that.'

² M14 and J have 'are the appearance of health of body and pleasure;' Dk. has 'is the appearance of perfection.'

³ Dk. concludes as follows: '*who has* done those things which are done, *about* which *on his* last day—when the things of the world depart—his wish is then thus, that 'more endeavour should be made by me;' *and has exercised* much abstinence from those things *about* which his last day's wish is this, that the endeavour made should not be made.' The quotations from Dk. end at this point.

⁴ Reading *mûn*, as in M14 and J, instead of *amat*, 'when,' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n.)

those of the primitive faith, and *are* the nature of the teachings *that* Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim¹, pontiff (*radö*) of Pârs and Kirmân², and director (*farmâdâr*)³ of the profession of priests, ordered to write.

14. Steadfast in the propitiation and praise of the creator Aûharmazd is the righteousness of obtainments of prayers, perfect is Zaratûst, *and one only* is the way⁴ which righteousness obtains, the others are no ways; homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from the creator Aûharmazd, the heavenly, most righteous Zaratûst the Spîtamân.

15. Completed in peace and pleasure, joy *and* delight; happy for him who reads, *and* happier for him who keeps *it* in use and shall take his duty therefrom⁵, if they exist unto time eternal.

¹ See p. 3, note 2.

² The two southern provinces of Persia, bordering on the Persian Gulf.

³ This title seems to be always spelt in Pahlavi with â in the middle syllable, so that the form framâdâr in Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 9, must be looked upon as an Arabic corruption, and the idea that it means 'a predecessor or one who has precedence' can hardly be maintained. It probably stands for farmâdâr, 'a director or commander,' not in a military sense. It occurs also in Bd. XXXIII, 2, where the title 'great farmâdâr' is evidently equivalent to 'prime minister, or grand vazîr,' but applied to a priest, as farmâdâr is here and in Chap. XLV, 5.

⁴ Reading râs, as in M14, instead of ra, which is merely an imperfect word. This clause of the sentence is a slight modification of a well-known quotation (said to be taken from the lost part of the Hâdökht Nask) which is often used in perorations.

⁵ Or 'who keeps to duty and shall do his duty thereby.'

EPISTLES
OF
MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

- I. TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SÎRKÂN.
 - II. TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.
 - III. TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.
-

A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts are written continuously, with very few stops marked, and even those are often misplaced.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay.

K35 (probably written A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M10 (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

EPISTLES OF MÂNŪSKĪHAR.

EPISTLE I.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SĪRKĀN.

THROUGH the name and assistance of the creator Aûhar^{mazd} and the whole of the sacred beings, all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*.

A copy of the epistle of the priest Mânûskĭhar¹, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* composed by him for the good *people* of Sîrkân², on the contents of the precepts (*vigîr-kardö*) which the priest Zâd-sparam³, son of Yûdân-Yim, prepared.

CHAPTER I.

I. *In* the name of the sacred beings, who sent you a soul with long life, with provision for proper progress, *and* with the protection of increase of righteousness and wisdom, may such works and

¹ The high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân (see the heading to Dd., p. 3).

² Written Sîrkân once, Sîrkânö twice, and Sîrgânö four times, in these epistles. It was a town of considerable importance in former times (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138-145), about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân.

³ He was high-priest of Sîrkân and brother of Mânûskĭhar (as expressly stated in the heading to Ep. II), both being sons of the same father.

mysterious dignity, encompassed with¹ happiness, now possess increasing prosperity and a complete share of pre-eminent welfare and great exaltation in both worlds.

2. The epistle² which *was* wisely, properly, and with religious demeanour ordered by you, *and* sent by a courier (paikö), *has* come, and *has* enveloped *and* assailed (*gastö*) me, indeed, with appalling intelligence on other subjects; and if even a portion³ of the vast importance and great value, as regards your heavenly *concerns*, arrangements, and natural *and* unpremeditated (*avarik*) prodigies⁴, which are for my knowledge, for the sake of courteous (*drûdik*) information, *be* owing to intelligence for which the courteousness *and* proper courageousness are among you, special pleasure is received *therewith*. 3. And praise is, thereupon, recited by me to the sacred beings, as regards the conflicting affairs even of this disordered (*gûmê zisnikö*) existence; worldly possessions, as much as are suitable for the assistance of wisdom, are proper⁵, and the gift of virtuous pleasure is the gain of the undeserving good work *or* prayer they (the sacred beings) shall accept; it causes aggrandizement *and* is as deserving as even that which the decision of

¹ Or, 'sent down in,' according as we read *parvastö* or *fröstö*.

² An epistle complaining of certain heretical teachings of their high-priest, *Zâd-sparam*, which is no longer extant.

³ Reading *va hat vâhar-ik*.

⁴ The epistle which he had received from his brother, *Zâd-sparam*, some time before, seems also to have mentioned certain omens (see Ep. II, i, 3).

⁵ J omits *shâyedö*, 'are proper,' because it follows the other *shâyed*, 'are suitable;' but it is not always safe to assume that the repetition of a word is a blunder.

the wise has said about *it*, that even from the management of disordered possessions which are impaired *there* is advantage through the power of wisdom; *and* they (the sacred beings) select and cleanse and uplift the good works *in* such manner as a precious stone (sag khêl) from the water, and gold brocade¹ from the dust.

4. My pleasure, also, is as much increased through the information due to the same courtesy, *and I have* a new *and* great desire for the arrival of information, continuously from henceforth, about the perfect courageousness, enduring humility, good works, worshipping, favouring position, and eagerness of soul of you who *have* recounted *your* great thoughtfulness for religion *and have* provided good works.

5. On account of the universal renown (aspôharakânih) of the good *people* of Khvantras², which is yours, owing to the favour that is your complete happiness, ardently *and* joyfully most desired, and constantly *so*, when *there* are opportunities of seeing you—though it is supposed *to be* the advantage of your own religion, joy of soul, courteousness, *and* proper constancy—since my will *resides* among you, you make known *and* command my actions, through the will of the sacred beings.

¹ Reading dîpakö-î zahabâ.

² The central region of the earth, containing all the lands best known to the Iranians (see Dd. XC, 3).

CHAPTER II.

1. Then comes that itself¹ which is dictated *in* the middle of your epistle, *and*, thereupon, it lays hold of me, and, owing to its hellish gloom, pallid appearance, *and* hellish effect, benediction is perplexedly dispensed by me in terror for *my* heart *and* mind; I *have*, also, grievously repented, as regards my own former arrangements in my warfare of violence—which *were* undeceptive in the balance pertaining to Rashnū²—of any real falsity of the co-existent *one*³ I *may* have produced.

2. *Responsible* for the malice *and* annoyance of unjust kinds which are encountering *us* is the fiend of great strength, who is unobserving, seductive, astute in evil, eager for causing annihilation (*gastō-kūn-varen*), *and* full of deceit, so that *it* is possible for him to render doubtful, *when* so deceived, even him who is most a listener to essential righteousness, most desirous of steadfast truth, most performing proper religious customs, most acquainted with good ideas, most amazingly careful of *his* soul, most approved in the most wounding hell-brought conflict, *and* most at home (*khānagiktūm*) in truth of all kinds, *and* to show him a semblance of reality in unreality, *and* of unreality in reality. 3. Just as even that similitude which is mentioned in revelation thus: 'He intends righteousness *and* considers

¹ J has 'the writing.'

² See Dd. XIV, 4.

³ The evil spirit who is supposed to be, for a time, co-existent with the beneficent spirit of *Aūharmazd*.

about it thus: "A good work is done by me," and he acquires fiendishness—that is, it becomes a source of sin for him—who shall bring forth water without holy-water to *one* contaminated by dead matter (nas-hômand), or who shall bring *it* forth without holy-water on a concealed *or* dark *place* in the night¹.

4. And about this I *have* no doubt, that the wish of that spirit is not coincident with righteousness, for it is realised, understood, *and* known that, as regards his own *creatures*, *he* is not careful for the proper movement of body and for the long living of life; so that the furtherance *and* continuance of these, which are his original resources of body and activities (khapârânö) of life, become, for him who is among them (the fiend's creatures), an increase of the propitiation of the sacred beings, of the practice of religion, and of the advancement and benediction of the teachings of just high-priests².

5. *It* is also manifest from the constantly-operating arrangement of manuscripts and synodical statements, about which Afarg³ *wrote* without falsifying the religion *and* apart from controversies; because among them (the fiend's creatures) is *he* who *has* said they are like unto that which is now written

¹ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. VII, 194-196, with some slight variations from the existing text. The meaning is that it is quite possible to commit sin by doing a good action in an improper manner.

² That is, even the wicked, when they seek welfare, have to take to religious practices.

³ A commentator whose opinions are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta (see Sls. I, 3). J has 'about which the splendour (afrand) of the religion is without falsehood.'

by him himself about it, and it has arranged much deliverance *from sin*¹.

6. Of this, too, I am aware, that, except there where a purifier is in no way reached, his great duty—which is just the purification *in* which there is a washer who is cleansed (*masīdō*) in the religious mode for the profession of the priesthood—is then a means which the high-priests should allow². 7. A washing which is not religiously ritualistic is ranked as an operation among the useless *ones*; *it is* vicious *and* grievously criminal, because the special means which, by preserving the soul³, is the perfect happiness of men, is the puri-

¹ That is, any one who explains the scriptures in a new fashion to suit his own purposes, which he thereby represents as beneficial, is merely carrying out the wishes of the fiend. The author is here, referring to the heretical teachings of his brother, regarding purification, which are further described in the sequel.

² That is, whenever a properly-qualified purifier is procurable, the priests should require him to purify any one who happens to be defiled by contact with dead matter by means of the Bareshnūm ceremony (see App. IV). It appears from the sequel, and from Eps. II and III, that the heresy of Zâd-sparam consisted chiefly of a misinterpretation of Vend. VIII, 278-299 (see App. V), which passage directs that a man in the fields, who has touched a corpse not yet eaten by dogs or birds, shall wash himself fifteen times with bull's urine, that he shall then run to some village, asking three different men on the way to cleanse him with the proper ceremony, and if they decline they each take upon themselves a share of the sin; when arrived at the village he shall ask a fourth time to be cleansed, and if no one will perform the ceremony he must wash himself with bull's urine and water in the ordinary manner, and shall be clean. The erroneous teaching of Zâd-sparam was that the fifteen times' washing was sufficient, without the subsequent ceremonial cleansing; and the object of these epistles was to combat that view of the law.

³ The ceremonial purification is supposed to cleanse the soul,

fication of men. 8. *It* is said¹: 'The purification of men cleansingly is a something (aitō) for the soul that should be after perfect birth; when they have been fully born the purification of others is the one thing which is good for the soul.'

9. And it is shown *in* another place that it is possible to obtain possession of purification also for the soul through purification of the body, even as it is said that a purifier is requested by him.

10. And it is necessary for him to speak thus: 'I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed; which is the reason—that is, on account of pollution—it is not possible to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, *and* it demands purification for me, that is, wash me thoroughly²' 11. As it is thereby declared that when he whose body is not purified, until they thoroughly wash him, is not able to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, and is not able to purify his soul, it is then a matter for the truly wise *to seek* even for purification of the soul by the purification of the body, *for* whose religious purification are those *things* which are unsubdued (*asikand*) in the religious ritual.

12. When these are thus the statements of former upholders of the religion *and* high-priests of the religion, he who is more intelligent *and* more active

whereas ordinary washing cleanses the body only, and is spiritually useless.

¹ In Pahl. Vend. V, 65, X, 35, being a translation of a quotation from the Gâthas or sacred hymns (Yas. XLVII, 5, c).

² Quoted, with some variation, from Pahl. Vend. VIII, 283, 284 (see App. V).

in the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers in every house, village, tribe, and province—*and*, very much more the man who is righteous, of fluent speech, speaking the truth, who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, acquainted with the ritual, trained for the work, of renowned disposition, and a friend of the soul—is *competent* for the purification which *it* is very important to prepare, to think of, *and* to promote.

13. When the period is so unworthy, the fiend so abundantly contentious, and the hasty preparer of holy-water of such base origin (*dûs-vêkh*)¹—which *happens*, moreover, when the good are equally low-minded (*ham-bâstö-minisnō*)—we strive for *what* encourages the preparation of that even which is a collectively virtuous profession. 14. Then, too, *there* remains such rising in strength of many new *things* from very many countries, which is particularly grievous distress and danger to us; they deliver tokens *of them* to us applaudingly, *and* the expansibility of the words of the delivering diffuser of these and also other religious customs, as the sacred beings' own persistency and complete glory, is a great *and* powerful capability.

CHAPTER III.

1. This, too, I am begging of you, that *you* may be desiring the truth, and *that* Vohūman², who,

¹ This seems to be an allusion to the unworthiness of some of the priests of the period (compare Ep. II, i, 13; v, 14).

² The archangel personifying 'good thought' (see Dd, III, 13).

when a ruler (shah) of yours, is an interpreter (pâžûkǒ) about the writing which¹ I write, *may* as regardfully *and* accommodatingly observe *and* direct as the variety of dispositions *permits*. 2. For you are of like opinion with me, to inform again the most initiated²; so that I am more steadfastly-determined (aûstikânǒ-minisntar) thereon. 3. And if there be *anything* that seems to you otherwise, direct *some one* to point *it* out again, with the reason *for* maintaining *it* which occurs to you, just as a household companion is a responder *and* has spoken again for the sake of pointing out again; for there are many reasons, on account of which your kindly-regardful observation is needful, which are to be written about.

4. The first is this, that the penmanship of the spirits is not the profession of me and others³; *and as to* him by whom a theory (farhâng) not universally operating is disseminated, which is *distinct* from his more indispensable occupation, *there* is then no command for his teaching *and* apostleship therein. 5. On that account, too, the wise *and* the seekers for truth uphold the body of opinion about the statements of the writing of the spirits⁴, and, therefore, direct less of the ingenuity of preparing again the penmanship of various tidings.

6. The second is this, that, in the distress (dahyakǒ) of this grievous time, he to whom

¹ Reading î instead of va, 'and.'

² That is, to severely admonish their high-priest, as he does in Ep. II.

³ That is, he disclaims all pretensions to inspiration on the part of himself and his contemporaries.

⁴ The inspired scriptures.

adherence *and* much indebtedness even as to his forefathers *have* remained, is well-lamenting, owing to the proposals (dâdanö) of the unfriendly, and much harm has occurred through the conflicting (ârdîkö) offer of remedies *and* lawful provision of means, full of trouble, except, indeed, to the upholder of religion who is more worldly-managing; and investigation by opponents is grievous danger, full of things inopportune *and* unnecessary for accomplishment¹.

7. The third is this, that a wise *man* who is a high-priest of the spirit-retaining² religion *and* acquainted with opinions, when also himself properly humble, fearless, and benedictive in the world, is then even, owing to his estimating³ pardonings *and* long-continued dexterity (dêr zivakakîh), united with the good creations in affliction *and* vexation. 8. And, on account of information about the worldly *and* spiritual misery of former evils of many kinds—always as much in the religion, *and* in the thoughts of others⁴, as *one* delivers up his heart to ingenious verbiage and for the preparation of phrases—he speaks as in the question *in* revelation, thus⁵: “Who in the bodily existence

¹ Referring to the risk of unfriendly and destructive criticism of the scriptures.

² J has ‘spirit-observing,’ by changing girisnö into nigirisnö.

³ Reading andasîh; the reference being to the sympathy acquired by a high-priest through performing his duty of appointing atonements for sins confessed to him.

⁴ Assuming that aîsanö stands for aîsânö.

⁵ J has only ‘as *one* speaks out his heart for ingenious verbiage and phrases, thus.’ The question and reply here quoted seem to be no longer extant in the Avesta.

is more quickly fortunate?" *and* it is answered thus: "The youth who is observant *and* humble, O Zarâtûst! who, as regards both that which has happened and that *which* happens, also sees that which is evil and good with gratitude, just like that also which *happens* unto another;" because he knows this, that from this is a benefit, for he knows happiness and also misery¹. 9. The glorified leader of those of the good religion, Hêr-Frôvag², son of Farukhûzâd, wrote: 'It is he understands the consequence of his own action; and *it* is his great household attendant, and the worldly desire provided at the Kinvad bridge³ becomes less watchful.'

10. The fourth is this, that I *am* more universally hoping about the property of the profession *and* the much duty fit for the truly wise, *in* such manner as even that *in* which the glorified and greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, Yûdân-Yim⁴, son of Shahpûhar, always urged on a priestly man with many sons *and* equally clever⁵ discourse.

¹ It is doubtful whether this last clause be a portion of the quotation, or not.

² This name is corrupted into Hê-Fôrvag in the MSS., but Âtûr-Frôbag is probably intended. He was the compiler of a great part of the Dînkard, and is also mentioned in Dd. LXXXVIII, 8. The names Âtûr and Hêr are synonymous, both meaning 'fire.' The passage quoted in the text has the same form (beginning with the word hôman dō, 'it is') as nearly all the sections of the third book of the Dînkard, but it has not yet been discovered among them.

³ Here written Kîs-vidarg (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁴ So written in J, but K₃₅ and BK have the syllable dân somewhat corrupted. The person meant, both here and in Chap. VII, 5, was probably the author's father, though Bd. XXXIII, 11 seems to make Yûdân-Yim the son of Vâhrâm-shâd.

⁵ Reading ham-gôkô, but J has ham-dûdakô, 'of the same family;' it also omits several other words by mistake.

11. That *was* through my instigation, alone and with little assistance, in the beginning; and, on account of the deficiency of warriors¹, the abundance of opponents, the very rapid arrival of disturbance, *and* the fourfold supplication for keeping away the ruin *or* hasty unlawful maintenance of the fires of the Mazda-worshippers, my constant distress is such that most of my time speaks of the same subject².

12. They may leave the abundance of despondency and thoughtfulness of the bodily existence to such remedial writing of his, unto whom the pleasantly comfortable thought of an evaded (*vīrikhtō*) seizure is requisite, but *there* is little worldly leisure for me for writing more *in* this direction (*hanâ-runtar*).

13. And specially in this passing *time*—when, alike limited by the coming of the period of giving daily *supplies* to the performers of worship, *and by* the ever-triumphant fire and *its* produce³, it was necessary for me to go to Shirâz⁴ on account of some indispensable provision of means—the work was much *and* the leisure little.

¹ From this and Ep. II, v, 14 it would appear that the priests at that time maintained a body of troops for the protection of their followers.

² That is, regarding the proper maintenance of the priesthood, which had already engaged his anxious attention during the lifetime of his father.

³ The word *var* may either mean 'ashes' (see Sls. II, 49), alluding to clearing out the fire, or it may mean 'ordeal' (see Sls. XIII, 17).

⁴ See Dd. I, 17. This name is written *Shirâzō* once, *Sirâzō* thrice, and *Sirâz* four times in K35. *Mānūskīhar* appears to have come to Shirâz on this occasion to hold a general assembly of the priests and leading members of the community, and he wrote this epistle from that city (see Ep. II, i, 11; v, 10).

14. The fifth is this, that the custom of providing for all the duties even of the *sacred* fire (*âtûr*) by me, and my own desire¹, trained hand², unhardened mind, and unhardened heart *for* managing many *things* should have become the joy of *my* mind.

15. Then, too, from *having* read such writing *and* such news the healer of distress would be thoroughly connected with my heart and mind, *owing* to which my intellect would have become quickly fatigued (*mândakö*) by a limited preparation of phrases.

16. The sixth is this, that even he who is a rescued³ *and* better-operating (*hû-dâgtar*) man—when, owing to the writing of a learned *man* of the realm who is desiring the truth, *he* is so perplexed⁴ on account of a doubt of increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity—*has* no doubt of the falsity *and* little training existent in the worldly.

17. The seventh is this, that if none of these six *of* which I *have* written should exist, even then your approved cleverness (*sîvagdârih*), extolled freedom from strife, hereafter-discerning and complete mind-

¹ Reading *kâmakö*, instead of the unintelligible *kâmûn*.

² The MSS. omit the last letter of *yadman*.

³ That is, delivered from contamination or sin; *vîrikhtô* is probably to be traced to Av. *vi+irikhta*, rather than to *vi+rikhta* (Pers. *gurêkht*).

⁴ K₃₅ has a blank space here, and again a few words further on, but it is doubtful if any words be missing. The spaces are filled up in J and BK, apparently by guess, as follows: J has 'he sees so perplexing a chance, concerning which, owing to the increase of after-tearing of the same perplexity and the arrival of evil, *he* is doubtful, *has* no doubt,' &c. And BK has '*he* is so perplexed on account of no doubt of the falsity *and* little training *that* existed in the worldly for increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity, *has* no doubt, &c.'

fulness, practised¹ attention to the good, and much affection² for the faithful—so kindly regarding, truly judging, *and* with a liking for praising (*srīdanō*), as regards whatever I write truly *and* with true conviction—are, I consider, to make provision, and *have* realised a preparation striven for.

CHAPTER IV.

1. I *have* also seen the spiritual life³ in the writing which is in such statements of incompleteness⁴, *and* owing to the same reason they should not cease from the operation⁵ of washing you—whom may the angels protect!—with the Bareshnūm *ceremony*⁶.
 2. Because the ancients have said that, when it shall be discarded from use, every water, fire, plant, righteous man, *and* animal, and all the creatures of Aûharmazd are afflicted, diminished, and made to leap *away*.
 3. As it is said in revelation that, *as to* him *who* stands *by* a dead body upon which the Nasûs⁷ has rushed⁸, 'anusô zî, Spitama Zara-

¹ J has bûrziđakō, 'extolled,' instead of varziđakō, 'practised.'

² Reading dūksharmîh as in J; the other MSS. have m instead of ū.

³ Reading dīđ ahvōîh; but it can also be read stihânōîh, in which case the translation would be:—'And my worldly condition.'

⁴ Meaning the incomplete kind of purification which their statements complained of, or his referred to.

⁵ K₃₅ and BK omit the *r* in kardakō.

⁶ See App. IV.

⁷ The fiend of corruption (see Dd. XVII, 7).

⁸ The three Avesta passages here quoted, with their Zand (Pahlavi translation), are from Vend. IX, 161-163, and are freely translated (trans. D) thus:—'It grieves the sun, indeed, O Spitama

thustra! aêsha yâ¹ paiti-irista avad² hvare â-tâpayêiti³, anusô hâu mau, anusô avê stârô⁴—discontentedly, moreover, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! does the sun shine upon him who *has been* by the dead, so discontentedly [does the moon]⁵, thus discontentedly do the stars—khshnâvayêiti zî, Spitama Zarathustra! aêshô nâ yô yaozdâ-thryô, yad aêtem⁶ paiti-iristem frâ-nasûm kere-naoiti—the man who is purifying propitiates *them*, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! when *he operates* on him *who has been* by the dead, on whom the Nasûs is put forth, and he has become *parted* from the sacred twigs⁷—he propitiates fire, he propitiates

Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars. That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.' The Avesta text is given according to the standard edition of Westergaard (IX, 41, 42), and all variants of any importance, in the three MSS. here used, are mentioned in the notes. These passages are also referred to in Ep. II, iii, 5.

¹ K35 and BK insert the last three words, anusô âvâ stârô, here.

² J inserts yâ here.

³ J has â-tâpayaêta, but K35 and BK omit the word.

⁴ K35 and BK have khshathrô-chinanghô, 'of a desire of authority' (which occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 112 as the name of a man) instead of avê stârô, which they have inserted earlier. They also leave a blank space for the words maman akhûrsandîhâ, 'moreover, discontentedly' (which begin the Pahlavi translation), as if they were descended from a damaged original.

⁵ All three MSS. omit the words in brackets, which are necessary to complete the Pahlavi version.

⁶ K35 and BK omit aêtem.

⁷ J has 'who has become polluted,' which separation from the sacred twigs (see Dd. XLIII, 5), or other ceremonial apparatus, implies. The phrase is omitted in Pahl. Vend. IX, 162.

water, he propitiates animals *and* plants¹, he propitiates the righteous man², he propitiates the righteous woman, both *of them*,³ as *in* the Avesta³ of it:—khshnāvayēiti âtareṃ, &c.

4. When *there* is no purifier all the angels of the worldly *existence* become afflicted *and* dissatisfied; and religious purifiers who are intelligent are even now not to keep backward the work of purification, just as *it has* come to them by practice from those of the primitive faith, and are not to diminish it.

5. To change a good work properly appointed they shall not accept a law which is not right, a good work not properly appointed⁴; not to do the work thereof is accounted very sagacious *and* perfectly wise; and through your freedom from inferiority⁵ the glorifying, commendation, praise, and blessing are your own. 6. For it is said that in all the work of forming and maintaining the law (dâdistânō) those of the primitive faith *were* very greatly particular about every single thing; and *as to* the whole operation of that proceeding into which they *have* entered, those of the primitive faith have become aware of the power which *resides* in true authority.

7. But, otherwise⁶, the routine which is brought out

¹ J has 'he propitiates plants,' as in Pahl. Vend. IX, 163.

² Literally 'male.'

³ The initial words of which here follow their Pahlavi translation, instead of preceding it.

⁴ J omits these six words.

⁵ Reading afrôtariḥ, as in BK; K₃₅ had originally avartariḥ, 'pre-eminence,' as in J, but the copyist wrote afrô (=aparva) over the avarta, as a correction, leaving it doubtful whether he meant afrôtariḥ or aparvariḥ, 'want of education.'

⁶ That is, unless confirmed by the decisions of the ancients.

from revelation¹ and the teaching of the high-priests is then not authorisedly changed by that priestly man whose decree of the fifteen² *washings* is written in *your* epistle³; because, on account of the whole and any perversion (*gastakîh*) of the same writing, not of similar utterance with revelation, before which the custom did not exist, I am without doubt as to that decree.

8. And in it⁴, moreover, is written, declared, *and* contained (*vangîdö*) that once *washing* is mentioned⁵, until a purifier comes who is acquainted with the ritual, who washes just as declared in revelation. 9. *To be* so washed I consider just as a thing for which he is even now as *it were* a purifier who is a good washer⁶, that of which *it* is written below *and* clearly realised that it should not be decreed; *and* through the scanty deliverance written therein⁷ *it* is manifest it would not be the statement above⁸.

¹ J has 'which is brought out with knowledge of the *purifying* cup (*tâstîk*), with preservation of faith, *and* with manifestation from revelation.'

² All three MSS. have 'sixteen' in ciphers, but it is evident that *Zâd-sparam* and his erroneous teaching of the sufficiency of fifteen washings (see Ep. III, 1, 2) are here referred to.

³ Reading *semag*, a Huz. hybrid for *nâmak*.

⁴ The decree of *Zâd-sparam*, apparently.

⁵ Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 299, which provides a washing for the polluted person by himself, if he can find no one willing to purify him (see App. V).

⁶ That is, for such a purpose any ordinary washer would be sufficient.

⁷ In Pahl. Vend. VIII, 299, which states that, although pure enough for ordinary purposes, he must still abstain from engaging in ceremonies for others (see App. V).

⁸ That is, it is very different from the propitiation mentioned in § 3.

10. If learned knowledge, *relating* both to that about inferior matters (*agīrtarihâ*) and that about superior matters, *be*¹ true authority praised *and* declared by the great primitive faith, former high-priests *and* those newly arisen (*navakgandakânö*) would be *and* would have been similarly forward; then, too, it would exist not so much with the priestly men *of* the time *as with* the learned officiating priests (*magôpatân*) of *Aûharmazd* who have been before. 11. And when, moreover, all the Avesta and Zand are easy *to* a priest², pre-eminently acquainted with the liturgy *and* a supreme Zaratûst, *he has* attained *unto*, *and* should remain with, *Aûharmazd* and³ the officiating priestship of *Aûharmazd*, and the supreme, world-managing, religion-observing (*hû-dîn-nikah*) sovereignty as to *religious* treatises⁴. 12. To change then their practice in the law would be entirely an outcry apart from deliberation, and a like violation of the unanimity of the spirits who are the heads *and* guardians⁵ of the religion, *and of* the unanimity of the source of opinion of the good themselves, for the sake of *what is* not acceptable.

13. But the statement above⁶ is, was, *and will* be that which remains a good idea well considered by them with the centre of thought, as to *its* well-

¹ J has 'because if even for that about superior matters, acquaintance with religion, and learned knowledge *there be*,' &c.

² That is, when he knows all the scriptures and commentaries by heart.

³ J omits '*Aûharmazd* and.'

⁴ That is, he has full authority to interpret the scriptures.

⁵ Reading *sarân sar dârân*, but in K₃₅ the two words overlap, so that *sar-sar dârân*, 'head guardians,' might be intended.

⁶ Probably referring to the quotation from the *Vendidâd* in § 3.

operating characteristics, just contention, and complete powerfulness. 14. Also from the teaching of just high-priests, through the preservation of much evidence, and ascertained for the members of the assemblies of various provinces (shatrô shatrô), are shown the opinion *and* experience of most priestly men; and to make the various districts (kûstakö kûstakö) thrivingly steadfast, an unperverted *one* should be set up in all four quarters (pâdkôs) of the same province.

15. And a semblance of it is apparent even from that which the glorified Nîshahpûhar, the supreme officiating priest¹, and also other officiating priests of Aûharmazd *have* said, *that one is* not to change any teaching of theirs thereon after *it is* provided, *and* not to render useless the statements of other authority thereon. 16. But that which they should accept *from* them as a certainty is to maintain the statements of other high-priests as pre-eminent; *and* not to change the operation of statements of another description *has* appeared lawful. 17. Even so it was as that *same* Nîshahpûhar, in the council of the glorified (anôshakö rûbânô) Khûsrô², king of

¹ This môbad of môbads is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in the Nîrangistân (see Sls. I, 4 n). His name is spelt in various ways.

² King Khûsrô, son of Kavâd, who is best known by his title Nôshirvân, or Anôshirvân, 'immortal-souled,' reigned A.D. 531-579; and the statement that Nîshahpûhar was one of his councillors (made little more than three centuries after his death, and, therefore, probably correct) is of considerable importance for fixing a limit to the age of those Pahlavi books in which he is mentioned. These books are the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, a late recension of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, and the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, in which last it is

kings *and* son of Kavâd,—by preserving old things (ligânö)—showed that way on whose thoughts they are established, and wrote them unaltered, so that such thoughts thereon became as *it were* decided; and their thoughts thereon, after such decree of his, have so become unanimous. 18. Through the importance *of his* assured rank, and the rest which *was* said by him in the work of sustaining the faithful, he maintains as much as the other statements, one *by* one, from the deliberative teaching of those high-priests.

CHAPTER V.

1. That writing which comes amid the writing of your epistle is a correct fragment¹ as regards the nothing in which *one* is to change the operation properly maintainable, and it is becoming; because, if it be even for him, by whom it is written from the

stated that Virâf was called by the name of Nikshâpûr by some. From the statements made in our text it seems probable that the council was employed in revising the Pahlavi Vendidâd, in which they were careful not to erase the opinions of older commentators, and thus confirmed their statements by their own authority. It is possible that this council was that mentioned in Byt. I, 7, where the name Nishâpûr also occurs, but whether it refers to a man or a city is not quite certain. This council, which seems to have been summoned for condemning the heresy of Mazdak, was held probably two or three years before Khûsrô came to the throne (see Nöldeke: *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 465).

¹ Reading *bangisñh*, but it may be *bûgisñh*, 'deliverance from contamination.' The reference is to the decree of Zâd-sparam mentioned in Chap. IV, 7, the 'writing' alluded to in Ep. II, ii, 1; iii, 1.

statements of Mèdyôk-mâh, Afarg, and Sôshâns¹, the several statements *and* teachings of the same high-priests, yet then the elaboration *and* publication thereof are not such as that which is sent down by his further elaboration². 2. And thereby it *has* seemed manifest *that it* is sent so that a wish for the spirit *may* proceed from the truth of *its* minister (padô), or *from* his thought for the desired decision; or his understanding *may* be of that kind which is warped (vukûstô), as though he believed it as other than the exposition of the religion *and* the teaching of the high-priests. 3. But until the unparalleled arrival of Sôshâns³ any one not sharing in complete knowledge is not appointed unto a patron spirit (ahvô), *and* the fiend specially contends more experimentally with the thoughts of the high-priests of the religion for a religious decision.

4. And even the recompense of community⁴ of property is that when *one* gladly observes pure thoughts; *and* the swift action of voluble (pûr) speakers and kind regard of religious characters for deliverance⁵ *and* for the noticeable undecitfulness of the same spirit⁶—which is itself the desire of settled observation that is in it for the sake of the

¹ The names of three of the commentators whose opinions are most frequently quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidâd (see Sls. I, 3). Each of them appears to have written a complete 'teaching' or dissertation upon the ceremonial laws, from which the quotations are taken (see § 6).

² That is, in collecting the opinions of the ancients, he has twisted them so as to suit his own views.

³ The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10), not the commentator of the same name mentioned in § 1.

⁴ Literally 'fraternity.'

⁵ From pollution or sin.

⁶ See § 2.

same kind of full religious diffusion—are the swift action of the patron spirit, which, for the sake of preparing him for a deliverance that is not falsifying revelation *and is* without disputants, is a kind regard for the deliverance itself of *him* whose spiritual life (hûkō) it is.

5. *As to* that which is thought by him¹ of those deliverances sent down, completed, *and* announced, I consider more particularly about the meaning of one thing, which is their solemnized observance. 6. The solemnized observance of Mēdyôk-mâh is in the teaching² of Mēdyôk-mâh, and those of Afarg and Sôshâns are each one meditated *and* indicated in a teaching; and the pointedly superior position of each one of them is mentioned by him in *his* statement of any teaching and *of* the decision set up. 7. Also with a kind regard for his own choice he *has* thought it (the former teaching) imperfect, and, on account of *what* was not attained by it—which *was* a re-explainer of the same good ideas provided—*its* dissimilarity to it is not unnoticed³. 8. *But* when *one* hears the re-explainers of a true reply he is well protected (hû-zinharîdō) by complete mindfulness⁴, *and* is himself confident that the teaching of Mēdyôk-mâh is not the whole statement of Mēdyôk-mâh, for there are many opinions of

¹ Zâd-sparam the writer of the decree mentioned in § 1.

² The word *kâstakō* means usually a written course of teaching or exposition, a commentary, dissertation, or manual of instruction.

³ Implying that Zâd-sparam had been more inclined to enforce his own opinions than to examine those of the commentators.

⁴ The Pahl. translation of Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' which is usually personified as a female archangel protecting the earth.

Mêdyôk-mâh¹ which have decided *in* another manner; not *that* whatever Mêdyôk-mâh said is not good, *but* in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is certain that even *what* is not proper is mentioned many *times* as a possibility².

CHAPTER VI.

I. *As to* that which is written in that epistle, that in the teaching of Sôshâns he thus states, that 'of both the purifiers necessary he is suitable by whom the ritual is performed³, they have been similarly very unanimous that when one is incapable (at û)⁴ it is the other *that* is suitable, who is written *of* in connection with him; and that, moreover, because the statement of Afarg is in a teaching of his⁵, and, on

¹ J inserts 'rules which are mentioned in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh.' It appears probable that the author had access to much more complete commentaries than the fragments now extant in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidâd.

² Meaning, probably, that Mêdyôk-mâh was disposed to relax the rigid enforcement of the law in cases of doubt or difficulty, as the Avesta itself does in several cases.

³ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, where it may be read either as an opinion of Afarg (as mentioned in our text), or as a statement of the Pahlavi translator, who would, therefore, appear to have been Sôshâns. A complete translation of the Pahlavi version of Vend. IX, 1-145 and the commentaries relating to the Bareshnûm ceremony, which are frequently alluded to in these epistles, will be found in App. IV.

⁴ Perhaps 'impotent,' as the Rivâyats (M10, fol. 103 a) provide that a purifier shall be neither aged nor youthful, not less than thirty years of age.

⁵ See note 3, above; from this it appears that Afarg was the earlier commentator.

that account, that declaration of his seemed *to be* from him, which is as though *it were* decided by him. 2. Then, when *one* reaches the eulogistic (afrâsînâkō) reply of his re-explainer, owing to his just will it is itself well perceived that Afarg comes into account as one of the high-priests; and that which is the special teaching of Sôshâns *has* mentioned that they have been very unanimous that when there is one he would be suitable¹.

3. That evidence, too, which many high-priests, and especially one teaching, are alike diffusing, is stated also in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh, that when he who is washing² understands the profession, then one purifier is plenty for him. 4. When it is abundantly declared, in particular by two teachings, *that* when there is one he is suitable, *it* is then not to be rendered quite inoperative through the solitary statement of Afarg; for Afarg only said, as it appeared so to him himself, *that* 'two purifiers are requisite'³. 5. The customs of another high-priest are not declared to exist with like evidence; and this is set aside (spêgidō) even by him himself, that another custom is not suitable to exist, because his own view is mentioned as it appeared to him.

6. Those of the primitive faith have been fully⁴ of the custom that other *one* selected, as to this, where *it* is the performance of the Vikaya ('exorcism')⁵; because its explanation is this, that an

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, but the earlier part of the section refers to statements no longer extant.

² That is, the person undergoing the purification.

³ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, Ep. II, ii, 7.

⁴ J inserts 'of the same opinion.'

⁵ That is, they have considered one purifier sufficient for reciting

opinion upon which the priests (magavôgânö) are without dispute is that which he says is the custom of a priest, *and* the business of the two priests, of whose other custom he speaks as much, is a performance by those two witnesses indicating the same as the priest.

7. This, too, is evident, that, by confession of Afarg, when there is *only* one purifier *he* is to be considered as being suitable¹; *and* an attainment to more evidence is that which is written by you, that Mêdyök-mâh *has* said that every customary *part* (pîsakö) is to be washed three times², and now the purifiers *do it* once. 8. That teaching remains *in* the same manner as written by him, but the three-fold washing of Mêdyök-mâh is not a washing to be striven for, but *one* to be well considered, *of* which he spoke; and this, too, is not said by him, that when *one* shall not wash three times it is not proper³. 9. Afarg said that when *one* shall⁴ wash once it is proper, and about this once the opinion of Mêdyök-mâh is the after statement, and the opinion of Afarg is the prior statement; *and* since in the life of man the first *thing* to be considered is about purity, not the indispensability of washing, and, further, the

the passages from the Avesta (see Vend. VIII, 49-62, IX, 118) which are supposed to drive away the fiend (comp. Ep. II, ii, 7).

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*.

² See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j*, where, however, the statement as to three times washing is attributed to Afarg, who is the prior authority quoted (as mentioned in § 9), and that as to once washing is attributed to Mêdyök-mâh, who is the after authority.

³ Reading lâ khalelûnêđö-ae lâ shâyedö instead of lâ khalelûnêđö a-lâ shâyedö.

⁴ Reading aê instead of va a. This statement is attributed to Mêdyök-mâh in Pahl. Vend. (see note 2, above).

pollution diminishes, about which it speaks in the religious cleansing, during so many times washing *as* is declared, then the consideration of it is a consideration about the one time which is the first computation¹. 10. That which mentions more than once washing is a contradiction of the prior deponent, not a declaration; *and* the consideration of that operation, so long as *it is* declared, is about the statement of him who *has* mentioned once washing with the opinion of a prior deponent², owing to the same *reasons*. 11. But if it be even that much washing which is the merit of the operation, then the statement of Afarg about these times³ is manifestly very preservative, *and* that of Mēdyôk-mâh is a necessity for declaration.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And *as to* that which is written⁴, that 'in the teaching of Afarg *it* is thus declared, that "for every single person, at the least⁵, one cup of water *and*

¹ In Vend. IX, 48-117 the washings of the several parts of the body are mentioned only once, which is 'the first computation' here mentioned.

² Reading pēsmâl, as equivalent to the pēsmâl or pēsîmal previously used; but the word can also be read pasîmal, 'after deponent,' which would be inconsistent with the context. The two terms are very liable to be confounded in writing Pahlavi, and in Ep. II, ii, 6 they are again written alike, though put in opposition to each other. The 'prior deponent' is Afarg.

³ That is, 'about this one time,' as J has it.

⁴ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁵ The words pavan kâmistîh, both here and in §§ 5, 6, would be better translated 'as a desideratum, or desired quantity;' but in

one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike (*vêh-mâl*)¹, are requisite;" and in the same manner it is said in the teaching of *Mêdyôk-mâh*, that "the water and bull's urine, when it is possible, are all to be thoroughly consecrated; when not—and, at the lowest, one cup of water and one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike, for every single person—they are to be set down *in* that place, and are afterwards to be mingled together²." 2. And since two teachings have so stated, are *we* to perform the operation more preservatively³ and according to a more correct opinion than this?'

3. Also, 'a correct apportionment is not understood by us, and clear reasons *have* not come to *our* knowledge that a less measure of the thing is proper.' 4. But I well imagine (*hû-minam*) this is not the operation of the *purifying* cup (*tâstikö*), where a less thing is not proper, because the information with which they have existed—owing to that information of theirs, of which a former high-priest and deliberator *was* the communicator—is that which *was* heard by me, that there are *some* who, for the sake of diminishing the measure of water and bull's urine, speak of this apportionment thus: '*Vikithrekid*'⁴, in everything the operation

Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c* the phrase is *pavan kamistih*, which can mean only 'at the minimum, or least.'

¹ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c*, where this statement occurs, the first letter of this word is omitted, which converts it into *shumâr*, 'alike.' Either word may be correct, but *vêh-mâl* occurs twice in this section.

² This statement of *Mêdyôk-mâh* seems no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidâd.

³ That is, in a way more delivering from pollution and sin.

⁴ This word, which probably means 'in whatever is varied,' was

which accomplishes this, that is, when *there is* as much as is discernible from his body¹, is proper.² 5. And the saying is not perceived by me *as* a correct apportioning, because the judgment of the greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, the glorified Yûdân-Yim², and of other deliberators, the opinion of good thinkers, was thus, that that saying is spoken about that of which the measure is not declared as the least by the high-priests' teaching of revelation. 6. Finally, when it is really of the same origin *and* suitable, then less than the least of that, of which the measure is declared as the least, is not proper, if, owing to much evidence in the teaching which has mentioned *it* as suitable, *it be* more of a blessing, and the operation performed thereby *be* more legitimate; because that teaching is for confessing that the statements of high-priests are most evidence of the practice.

7. This is that which is equally perpetual: it is very important *for* the purifiers to keep the intellect of life in operation, *and for* the good to become mentally a powerful giver of aid to them; and now, too, a purifier is ordered to keep in use his own most universal equal measure. 8. That which is perceived by me, and *has* come to my knowledge, more particularly when washed by myself, is the keeping in use an equal measure³. 9. And even if there be a purifier who does not completely keep in use the

evidently the beginning of an Avesta phrase whose Pahlavi translation concludes the sentence. The phrase does not appear to be extant elsewhere.

¹ That is, just sufficient to wet the body.

² His father (see Chap. III, 10).

³ That is, the two liquids should be provided in equal quantities,

consecrated water and bull's urine, still then *it* is not worse than when it does not really arise *from* the same origin¹, and its religious rite also does not take place.

10. Also the words of both the solemnization of the Vendidâd and the recitation of the Avesta are likewise to be uttered by him; because² 'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd *about* it thus: "How shall I purify³ where he does not attain unto the Airyemâ⁴—there are *some* who say *where* everything is anusô ('discontented')⁵? 11. How as to the fire, how as to the water, how as to the earth, how as to animals, how as to plants, how as to the righteous man, how as to the righteous woman, how as to the stars, how as to the moon, how as to the sun, how as to the endless light, how as to the independent light⁶, how as to all the prosperity, created by

which differs from the present practice, as stated in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, M10, fol. 104 a, mentions 3¼ mans of water and 1¼ man of bull's urine as suitable quantities to be provided. This section is omitted in J, probably by mistake.

¹ Apparently deprecating the use of mingled liquids derived from various sources.

² The passage quoted here is from Pahl. Vend. XI, 1-5, with a few variations.

³ Pahl. Vend. inserts 'as to the abode.'

⁴ The Airyemâ (written Airyemê in the MSS.) is Yas. LIII, which commences with the words 'â airyemâ ishyô,' and is the last of the Gâtha spells mentioned, in Vend. X, 22, as having to be recited four times in order to exorcise the fiend. The meaning of the question in the text, therefore, is: how is the purification to be effected when all the spells are not recited?

⁵ Referring to Vend. IX, 161-163 (see Chap. IV, 3).

⁶ This clause is omitted in Pahl. Vend., being merely a repetition of the preceding one, the Av. anaghra raokau being first translated by asarag rôshanôih, and then partially transliterated by

Aûharmazd¹, which is a manifestation of righteousness?" 12. And Aûharmazd spoke to him thus: "Thou shalt chant the purification *liturgy*, O Zarâtûst!—that is, fully solemnize a Vendidâd *service*—then he becomes purified, &c.," as mentioned by me *above*². 13. Where they do not make *them* solemnize a Vendidâd so that they keep in operation that which is written of it as a rite, this does not drive *pollution* from any *one*; and then, too, they should abandon the commands of a decree of leaders who are not over *them*³.

14. Keep the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁴ in operation, so that the consecrated water and bull's urine are in the proportion *which* is taught by the high-priests of the religion, unless a scarcity occurs as regards these. 15. Then *together* with it, also, this is *to be observed*, that what is mentioned in two teachings is certainly more correct; afterwards, too, where a possibility for it is not obtained by them, *there is what* is mentioned as suitable by one teaching, and I do not decide *that it* is not an expediency.

16. And *as to* that, also, *which* is written concerning the three hundred pebbles⁵ that, sprinkled

anagraġ rôshanô. As sar means 'head, end' in Pahlavi (hardly ever 'beginning'), the only meaning common to the two terms asarag and anagraġ seems to be 'without a head or superior, independent,' that is, in this case, independent of the light of other luminaries.

¹ K₃₅ has 'righteousness, created by Aûharmazd,' but this is evidently a mistake, as 'righteousness' does not translate the original Av. vohû.

² That is, as to the fire, &c. mentioned in § 11.

³ Referring to the heretical decree about which he is writing.

⁴ See App. IV.

⁵ See also Ep. II, iii, 12. The word generally used in these

in *ceremonial* ablution (pâdyâvö), are cast into (val) the bull's urine and water, that is taught even *in* the same manner; the *inward* prayer (vâgö)¹, even for when *one* does not cast *them*, is in the existing teaching, which is proper. 17. Then, too, on account of the cheapness² and harmlessness of the pebbles the purifiers are less curtailing as to them, *and* to drink the thing so is well-curative in performance. 18. In the existing teaching of imperfect purifiers it should be very advantageous to maintain it as easy; moreover, it is not said of it *that it* is not suitable, and in the teaching of Afarg it is said that it is proper.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *As to* that which is written³, that it is declared in the Sakâdûm *Nask*⁴, that the consecrated bull's

epistles is sang, 'stone,' but Chap. IX, 6 has sagtākakö, and Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, c mentions sagkāk, 'a pebble,' as being cast into (dên) the consecrated water and bull's urine, without specifying any number. The practice appears not to be mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats, and seems now obsolete; the addition of a small quantity of the ashes of the sacred fire to the bull's urine, which is tasted at the beginning of the rite, is, however, mentioned in the Rivâyats.

¹ See Dd. LXXIX, 2. The prayer or grace has to be taken inwardly, that is, murmured, before the drinking mentioned in § 17. According to this text provision seems to have been made for not using the pebbles, by means of a special prayer.

² Or 'value,' as argânîh means both.

³ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁴ This was the eighteenth of the lost books of the Mazda-worshippers (see Sls. X, 25, note). It was one of the seven law books, and treated of many legal matters. Among the contents of its first thirty sections the following items are mentioned by the *Dînkard*,

urine, when it becomes fetid, is to be stirred up (*barâ agârdōiniso*), and they should not carry *it* forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture and through carrying bodily refuse (*hīgar*)¹ on and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it; that is taught *in* like manner lest, and owing to what is said, it then seemed to one that the bodily refuse and pollution of fetid bull's urine is on account of the stench. 2. But it is proper to observe it more fully mindfully, perfectly completely, and with better understanding, because that which is said by it, that the carrying of bodily refuse forth to the fire overwhelms *it*, is not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine, but the proportion of the sin through this; so that it becomes the origin of as much sin for him as that pollution of the bull's urine; but the stench, on account of moisture, is like *him* even who shall bring clean and purified water into the fire, and thereby becomes sinful².

and one of these passages probably contained the statement quoted in our text:—'On carrying forth the holy-water and also the pot (*dīgō-k*) to the fire, that is, with purified and thoroughly-washed hands; and the sin of carrying *them* forth with unpurified and imperfectly-washed hands. On preserving the pot and the other things, whose use is with the fire, from defilement with bodily refuse; when, through want of care, defilement occurs, and any one shall carry *it* unawares to the fire, he who is careless overwhelms *it* thereby. . . . On lawfully warming the bull's urine on the fire, and the sin when *it* is not *done* lawfully.'

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19, note.

² The argument is that the urine being a consecrated liquid, its corruption is not contaminating (provided it be not occasioned by foreign matter, as alluded to in § 7); but if the stench be sufficient to extinguish or injure the fire, it is as sinful to expose the fire to its influence as it would be to injure the fire with holy-water.

3. This, too, is a saying, that the proportion of the sin is mentioned not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine; it is said *to be* a counterpart even of that *which* is declared of the care of the *flesh of the* ass and pig, so that when they shall now carry unto the fire more than the proportion which is ordered, it overwhelms *it* through carrying bodily refuse forth to the fire, and even then that flesh, investigated as to purity, is mentioned as a supply for the season-festival¹.

4. The fetid bull's urine is itself likewise prepared, so that on this account it is ordered that *it* is to be stirred up, that so long as *it* is stirred up they *may* thereupon order the use of it; if then *it* is to be rendered quite useless, *there* is afterwards no necessity for stirring it. 5. The stirring is declared a purification as regards polluted *things*, where bodily refuse is only such that *it* is not endless, and so pure that it purifies even that of another.

6. When *it* is written of it itself, that *it* is thus declared in the *Sakâdûm Nask*, that consecrated bull's urine which is fetid is to be stirred up for the fire, *it* is afterwards declared that *it* is not speaking *only of* the bull's urine *which* is provided those three days²; but that, too, which is old *and* consecrated,

¹ So the damage to the fire is not occasioned by any impurity of the flesh of the ass or pig (which could be used for a sacred feast), but by the excessive quantity brought to it. The pig was formerly domesticated by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 58), but they have long since adopted the prejudices of the Hindus and Muhammadans as regards its uncleanness.

² Referring probably to the times of the three washings, subsequent to the chief ceremony, which take place after the third, sixth, and ninth nights, respectively, (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144.)

become fetid *and* is stirred again, when they keep it in use, is proper. 7. And that which the Sakādūm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: 'That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it.'

CHAPTER IX.

1. And *as to* that which is written¹, that '*the teachings of Mēdyōk-māh, Afarg, and Sōshāns*² have all three come *and* remained, and, on that account, whoever *has* washed just as they always wash therein is certain that he is worthy.' 2. Also, 'should it have been as *it were* proper to them, would Mēdyōk-māh have said that "not even the purifier is single?"' 3. *And* the rest as written on that subject, which, on account of its acute observation, *has* seemed *to be* from their statements; they, however, *have* not decided it so by the teaching which is in their names, as *was* indicated by me before³.

4. But I do not so understand that 'if those should have been all the particulars of the peculiarity of all three teachings, would *the teachings of Mēdyōk-māh and Sōshāns* have said, concerning any one who should have so washed that the purifier was single, that it is suitable, because the high-priests have been thus very unanimous that when

¹ In the epistle to which he is replying.

² See Chap. V, 1.

³ See Chap. VI, 2-4.

there is one he is unsuitable¹? 5. And when it should be to them as *it were* proper that, apart from the hands, the other² customary *parts* (pīsakō) *should be* washed once by them, would Afarg have said it is proper³, because washing them three times is not mentioned in the Avesta? 6. And when it would have been as *it were* proper that the three hundred pebbles (sang) *should not be* cast into the water and bull's urine, *would* Afarg's teaching have said that it is proper⁴, because there is not a single use for a pebble (sagīkakō)? 7. And when it would be as *it were* proper that *he-who* is washed at the ablution seats (mak) at which any one *has been* washed *during* the length of a year, is not injured thereby—only they shall take them away *and they* are again deposited⁵—would Mēdyōk-māh's teaching have said that it is proper, because, when the stones (sagō) are again deposited by one, *it* is to effect the cleansing (vistariṣnō) of some one,

¹ The writer says he does not understand this argument of his correspondents, because it differs from the view he takes in Chap. VI, 2, but it must be confessed that the meaning of the passage in dispute (Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, δ) is not very clear, as the word ashāyeḏ, 'he is unsuitable,' can also be read ae shāyeḏ, 'he would be suitable,' both there and in our text.

² K35 has one line blank here, but this was probably owing to the state of the paper, or some inadvertence of the copyist; as it is evident that none of the text is omitted.

³ Compare Chap. VI, 9-11.

⁴ Compare Chap. VII, 16-18.

⁵ This shows that the places for ablution during the Bareshnūm ceremony were, a thousand years ago, the same as now, namely, stones deposited on the ground, not holes dug in the ground, as directed in Vend. IX, 13, 14, 16. They are, in fact, the stones or hard material directed to be deposited at the holes in Vend. IX, 29, 30, but they go by the old name for the holes (magh).

and when a *shower of rain* occurs thereon so *that* the whole place shall be thoroughly wetted, inside and outside, it is proper? 8. And if some one says that this is the case of a rite by a teaching of authority, and the rule is by a teaching of private authority, is not the whole rite by any teaching proper, that *consists* in this washing which is thoroughly preserved as they keep *it* in practice¹?'

9. The reply is even this, that every rite (nīrōṅg) is to be performed *in* such manner as *that* which is said *to be* most preservative, and most connected with the declaration of revelation and the testimony of the high-priests *concerning* it. 10. And not for the reason that Mēdyōk-māh's *teaching* is more preservative² as to one rite, and after that something of Afarg is more preservative, is the operation to be performed by the statement of Mēdyōk-māh; *but* whatever is the more preservative of Mēdyōk-māh's is collected from Mēdyōk-māh, all the more preservative of Afarg from Afarg, and that which is the more preservative of *any* other high-priest from that which *has* the most preservative approval of the high-priest. 11. That which those high-priests *have* said, which they decide by just authority, is the commandment of the learned of the realm, which has lawfully arisen over the provinces (shôhârânö); but even that statement opposing it *which* is much testified and manifestly more of a deliverance, or which is declared *as* an exposition

¹ This string of arguments appears to be quoted from the epistle to which the writer is replying, but as they are separated from their context it is difficult to understand the exact line of argument, or to be sure that they are translated correctly.

² From pollution or sin.

of the teaching of high-priests of the religion in a dissimilar case, they shall then¹ wholly accept, and *they* are to perform the operation authorisedly and preservatively thereby.

12. This, too, I so consider, *that* even if each separate teaching should be as *it were* proper, it would then not be determined by them as to the impropriety of the *purifying* cup, for Mêdyôk-mâh *has* stated, only as *it was* apparent to him, that every single customary *part* is to be washed for three times², and *has* not specifically determined that when all shall be *so* once it is not proper.

13. By the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh and the washing which is in the law that says—concerning those interpreting revelation—that whoever becomes quite polluted shall thoroughly wash by that law, so that his *being* washed is to be considered as *being* washed, it (the rite) is not performed by me if, also, that other high-priest *has* said, that every one who becomes quite polluted, and washes not by the law of the primitive faith, is not to be considered as washed. 14. Then, too, in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is not said, *of* that washing which is washed by the law of those of a portion of the religion (pârak-dînôân), that it is not proper.

15. He who washes by the law of those of the primitive faith, which many high-priests maintain as excellent, because it is suitable, and imagines that regarding the threefold washing it should be said that it is not proper, even he—when he also

¹ That is, when the dissimilar case arises, or when it is manifestly more efficient.

² See Chap. VI, 7.

has become of the same opinion as to this, that the statements of the high-priests are on an equality, and the most evidence of the high-priests is the *right* course—would have attained to confidence about this, that in a doubtful matter *there* should be a high-priest¹, and also that *of* which Afarg and Sôshâns *have* alike understood a similar thing is proper.

CHAPTER X.

1. And *as to* the many other *matters to* which an explicit reply is not written by me—be it the determinableness of it, be it the flow of *inward* prayer², be it the pouring of the water, and likewise the rest which is written *to* me—the statements, when deliberation and conjecture about such arrangements become needful, are not *to be made* unto the multitude, but *unto* the priestly at once³. 2. And this much, also, which is written by me is on this account⁴, *that* when a writing has come to you which is the purport of my re-explanation, *and it has* seemed that it is written after *well-weighed* (sakhtakö) observations⁵, even so they *would* cause *some* of those of good desires to understand, who are thoughtful friends of the soul *and* observers of

¹ To consult about the matters in doubt.

² Reading *vâg-rêgîsnôih*; but J omits the first letter, and thereby converts the word into *apardazîsnîh*, 'want of leisure.'

³ J has merely 'the statements are when deliberation and conjecture become at once needful.'

⁴ Reading *hanâ râî*, as in J; the other MSS. have *hanâ lâ*.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'strict observations' here, and 'strict observers' further on.

well-weighed ideas, in whose heart and mind, owing to that *other* writing¹, the existence of doubtfulness may fully remain; and, owing to that, this much re-explanation *has*, indeed, seemed to me good.

3. And then the desire² to sprinkle³ in many modes is also an incorrect presentation⁴, on which same subject there is this in consideration, that afterwards, peradventure, the same priestly man⁵ by whom it is written *may* come—whose assured wisdom⁶ may the angels make steadfast! *and* whom my approaching causing a purifier to travel for *various* quarters *has* occasioned to write it—so that while they are, therefore, awed by him, and shall provide more completely for use the full measure of water *and* bull's urine, the complete words of the Avesta, *and* other proper rites, they shall proceed more approvably. 4. And if *it be* even not auxiliary for the same purpose (*âhanö*) *that it was* written by him—except, indeed, through consideration of its details—no reason for a writing of that kind is to be assigned.

5. But if for the reason *it was* written by him *it be* manifest as an existence which is very little threatening, then I consider his opinion, which is in his decree, not so perplexing; and, till⁷ now, the perplexing consideration *was* more particularly as

¹ To which he is replying.

² Reading a dñ gãm, but this is doubtful.

³ The Huz. verb zerîkûntanö, 'to sprinkle,' is not found in the glossaries, but is readily traceable to Chald. ܨܪܝܢܐ.

⁴ Reading arashnikö-êö-dahisnîh.

⁵ Meaning his brother, Zâd-sparam.

⁶ The usual Pahlavi phrase for the Av. âsnô khratus or instinctive wisdom (see Dd. XL, 3).

⁷ Assuming that val stands for va/.

to that, when, owing to the great learning thereof to be seen by me, this was not doubtful, that *as to* the great opinion of the world *about* the existing law of the profession of the priesthood, *and* the practice of all those of the good religion of the realm, they should make a decree only by the deliberation of me and other priestly men *and* religious observers¹. 6. For if even he retorts a further statement² as to the appointed observance, *its* origin is then also a propagation from the diverse teachings of those great high-priests of those of the primitive faith, *who* were they *who* have been formerly great.

7. On account of the depth and much intricacy of the religion they mention many opinions *and* well-considered decrees *which were* likewise formed devoid of uniformity, *and* the utterance *of* the different opinions of the priests is with the reciters of the Nasks; but even among themselves the most supremely just high-priests were of a different opinion, different judgment, different teaching, different interpretation, and different practice only in the peace, mutual friendship, and affection which they had together. 8. Just as that even which *was* prominent about these chief priests (magôpatânô magôpatô), whose names *were* Âtûrô-Frôbagvindâd and Âtûrô-bûgêd, who have been, each separately, the high-priest of the realm of the true religion and the scholar of the age.

¹ Implying that the more learning there is manifest in an erroneous teaching, the more necessary it is to submit it to careful examination.

² Reading *frâgô vaê patô-yekavîmûnêd*, and assuming that the last word stands for *patô-îstêd*.

9. To many, when an opinion is afterwards so obtained, *pertaining* to the high-priests *in* the spiritual *existence*¹, *it* is as is said about Zaratûst the Spítamân, that 'the first time when the arch-angels are seen by him, the Spítamân, *it* is then supposed by him that they are Aîndar, Sârû, Nâkisiyyâ, Tâûtrêv, and Zâîrkê², who are most mighty³.'

10. From such as those the decree and its original perversity (bûn-gâstikôih) and scanty preservative-ness are so written *and* prepared, and afterwards, also, your opinion is that way irritated by the habit of good thinking—of which there is so much manifest⁴ from those of the primitive faith and the high-priests—because even its words and those written with *it*, *and* the completeness of will *and* religion which is written, inclined the mind *away* from the teaching of the high-priests.

11. But as the same decree, *or* that which is resembling the same decree⁵, is appointed (vakhtô)

¹ That is, such as have passed away.

² These are the last five of the arch-demons who are the special opponents of the archangels, being corruptions of the Avesta names Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairikê (see Bd. I, 27). The name of the first arch-demon, Akôman, is omitted here, probably by the mistake of some copyist, as six names are wanted to make up the number of the archangels exclusive of Aûhar Mazda himself.

³ J continues as follows:—"of the demons." 10. Written with the wretchedness (vakhârih) and savageness of such as those, the oppressiveness and disaster of a decree of that description, and its original perversity,' &c. (as in the text).

⁴ In the decree, which was so written as to appear to be directly derived from the teachings of the commentators, but, at the same time, so warped their statements as to lead astray. Hence, it might be compared to the conversion of an archangel into an arch-fiend through a mental hallucination, as mentioned in § 9.

⁵ J omits these last eight words.

and specially decided, and is not to be accepted *from* him, and the operation is not to be performed thereby, its position is then to be considered, *by* those steadfast *in* the practice of the pre-eminent religion, with the most advanced understanding and discernment, which are the thought of its true station in the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 12. And other religious decrees, intelligently preservative of the soul, which are made known *and* declared from the teaching of truthful high-priests of the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, are to be suitably accepted *and* fulfilled. 13. And since this opinion (*dâstakö*) of mine is, moreover, from the writing of Afarg, even about the preservation of different interpretations and different teachings, not specially owing to unobtainable statements of this shattered¹ religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, nor even *to* distress through simultaneous strife, but owing to the desire of true opinions which *has* existed, there is safety abundantly, but temporarily, from the scribbling of the opposing, partial, and injurious writing of that priestly man².

CHAPTER XI.

I. For completion little is observed by me; and a man of my own, *in* a position of authority (*söng gâh*), comes with a second epistle³ for that priestly man, opposing, disputing, showing the harm, making

¹ Reading *hanâ giring*, but it can also be read *ân adarog*, 'that undeceitful.'

² *Zâd-sparam*.

³ Not Ep. II, but one which preceded it (see § 5, note).

aware of the deliverance¹, and applying for arrangement. 2. And the man who comes as a co-operator is announced by me, *and* the rite which is accomplished by him is *so* till further *notice*, which is for my further epistle²; because a double elucidation about that which it is necessary to arrange from afar is a custom more suitable for the discreet.

3. If *that* same priestly *man*³ should have been in the vicinity, then interviews *with* me, with a few words, *would have been* more preservative than *trying* to convert that wretchedness (vakhâr) into that which is customary (pîsakö) even by further writing and much information. 4. And even now my prospect is a well-considering demand for explanation, so that, if the duties which are suitable for the discreet *be* really disposable for it, it is proper so to arrange what it is possible for me to complete *for* three months; *and* I *may* go myself into the presence of *that* same priestly *man* for the arrangement of the indispensable duties, and *may* diffuse this arrangement properly⁴. 5. *But* there are many reasons for private reflection (nâhîdö) on account of which a descent from position is an evil resource; and *this* once a temporary epistle is written by me to him, and comes with this epistle⁵. 6. And Yazdân-

¹ From pollution, by means of the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Probably referring to Ep. II, till the arrival of which (or that of Ep. III) they were to act as directed by the priest he sends with this epistle.

³ His brother Zâd-sparam.

⁴ This intended visit to Sirkân is also mentioned in Ep. II, v, 5; vi, 4, 6; vii, 3.

⁵ Being apprehensive that personal interference might lead to altercations derogatory to his dignity, he prefers trying the effect of writing in the first place. The temporary epistle, here referred to,

pânak¹, a man who is instructed², shall come to him, *who* is friendly to custom (âinag-tyâr), *and* of like rank with his own man who is faithful; *and* I *will* write further *and* more controversially to him, and give the information advisedly with which I *shall* acquaint him, so that *it may be* more explanatory to him.

7. But if through this which is written by me, or *through* myself³, he *should* come immediately (digandyîs) unto Pârs, I *shall* then be seeking an opportunity even for the retirement of him himself; I do not abominate *it* (madam lâ mansôm) when it is necessary for them *and* private, as is better.

8. As to these other diffusions of arrangements which are pre-eminently the resources of that priestly *man*, and the acquaintance with revelation which is sought by him, for the sake of the advantage of the religion *they* should not be molested before⁴.

9. May the arrangement and restoration and benediction of the revelation (dînô) of the Mazda-worshipping religion reach a climax! *and* may the

could not have been Ep. II, as that was written after Ep. III, and was the further epistle promised in § 6.

¹ Or, perhaps, Yazdân-pahnak. This was a common Parsi name in former times, as it is found in two of the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves, dated A. D. 1009 (see Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and the very similar name, Yazd-panâh, occurs as the name of a Parsi convert to Christianity who was put to death about A. D. 541 (see Hoffmann's Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, p. 87).

² Assuming that dinhârđō stands for zinhârđō.

³ If I should come personally.

⁴ Referring probably to further matters of complaint, which he did not think it advisable to notice seriously until the present controversy was settled.

eminence of you listeners¹ to the primeval religion consist in long-continued, supreme prosperity, through all happiness! then, through such thoughtful friends, the acquaintance *with* its difficult teaching and mighty words, which is to increase that gratitude of yours to me for my decisions, is made a blessing to you, if you observe therein a good idea which seems to you important, when it reaches your sight.

10. The correct writer *and* scribe is ordered that he do not alter *any* of² the words (mârik), while he writes a fair copy of this epistle of mine, which is written by me to you, and he orders *some one* to give it to *that* same man, Yazdân-pânak, *along* with that epistle, so that it *may* come to him³, for there are *times* when I seem aware that *it* is better *so*. 11. And may the angels increase *and* enlarge your many new *things* with full measure and complete exaltation! the pleasure, peace⁴, righteousness, prosperity, commendation, *and* happiness *of* the powerful⁵ who are all-controlling *and* happy-ending.

12. Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* written *it in* the day *and* month *of* Spendarmad⁶, in the

¹ Reading nyôkhshîdârânô, as in J, instead of avakhshîdârânô.

² Reading min, instead of mûn, 'who.'

³ To Zâd-sparam. This copy was that mentioned in Ep. II, vii, 1.

⁴ Reading s/am, as in J; the other MSS. have shnuman, 'pro-
pitation,' the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

⁵ Reading patûgânô; J has padvandânô, 'connections,' by inserting a stroke.

⁶ The fifth day of the twelfth month of the Parsi year; and, as Ep. III (which was evidently written after further consideration) is dated in the third month of A. Y. 250, this must have been written in A. Y. 249. The date of this epistle, therefore, corresponds to the 15th March, 881.

enjoyment of righteousness, the glorification of the religion, trustfulness to the angels, and gratitude unto the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels, *and* all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*. 13. Praise to the month (mâh) of like kind which is exalted in its name with this.

EPISTLE II.

TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.

Copy of an epistle of the priest Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* prepared by him for the priest, *his* brother, Zâd-sparam¹.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of the sacred beings who shall keep exalted the pre-eminent success of *your* priestly lordship, accomplishing *your* wishes in both worlds, I am longing for the children—formerly promoting health of body—and *for* activity, and fully desirous, and in every mode a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings, for the well-abiding *eyesight*, peace, and understanding of *your* priestly lordship.

2. The epistle that came *from* you in the month Âvân², which Nivshahpûhar³ *was* ordered to write,

¹ See the heading to Ep. I.

² The eighth month of the Parsi year, which must have been A. Y. 249 (see Ep. I, xi, 12, note). This month corresponded to the interval between the 11th November and the 10th December, 880; but it is evident from Chaps. VII, 2, VIII, 1 that this reply was written about the same time as Ep. III, that is, in the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ This appears to have been the original form of the name Nishahpûhar or Nishahpûhar, applied both to a man (see Ep. I, iv, 15, 17) and to a city in Khurâsân, and in this place it is not quite

and by me from¹ and, would have been quite desirable to increase *my* gratitude unto the sacred beings *for* the health and salutation of *your* priestly lordship, though it had been *merely* to write intelligence of your own condition; for your writing of the epistle is not such as *that of* the distant who write in duplicate, but like *that of* neighbours who think that everything new should always be really mutual information. 3. *As to* that, too, which you ordered to write about omens *and* such occurrences—for which my form of words is not as is twice specified within the epistle, and from henceforth *one* should order to write intelligence more clearly—moreover, on account of want of leisure on many subjects, my heart is not disengaged even for the understanding of omens.

4. I apprise *your* priestly lordship that in this

certain whether a man or a city is alluded to. The text, as it stands in the MSS., is as follows:—‘Nāmakō zitanō dēn bidanā Āvānō mūn Nivshahpūhar nipistanō farmūdō va madō.’ This can be translated as in our text, if the word *va* be omitted; but, if this word be retained and *mūn* be changed into *min*, the translation would be as follows:—‘The epistle which *some one* was ordered by you to write in the month Āvān from Nivshahpūhar, and *which* came.’ Now it is evident from Ep. I that *Zād-sparam* must have been in Sīrkān for some time previous to the date of that epistle, 15th March 881, and, therefore, probably in the previous November; but, at the same time, it must be noticed that there are allusions in this second epistle (see Chaps. I, 12, V, 3) to his having been formerly at Sarakhs and among the Tughazghuz, that is, in the extreme east of Khurāsān; it is, therefore, just possible that he may have been at Nivshahpūhar, on his way to Sīrkān in the south, in November.

¹ J and BK attempt to fill up the blank with the words *kēshvar arg*, ‘the value of the realm;’ but the original text probably stood thus:—‘and *was received* by me from *so and so*,’ the names having been torn off in some intermediate MS.

interval (tâhîkô)¹ a written *statement* has come unto me that the good *people* of Sirkân are, indeed, so enveloped by you *in* distress, despondency, and trouble that its counterpart *was* when *there was* a liberation of *our* glorified fathers from the state of material existence. 5. For such as the insufficiency of the whole life of such *was* then to me, so even is the wounding and damage which comes *now* to *my* understanding and intellect. 6. The whole life of such is on the confines of the pure existence, a contest *with* the complete incorrectness that remains contaminating the liturgy by which the greatest intelligence of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers is aided; a little also, finally, of sagacity and observance of the apportionment of the more grievous impostures and more frightful delusions.

7. And, first of all, as to when your completely vile idea first destroyed your own enlightenment, and quite subdued your seconding of me, is inopportune (avidanâ) for me; and that ordinance², which though it be also right, is then even grandeur, because *it* is a law of the realm and an opinion of the world. 8. When even in the mansion of various thoughts, the residence of the assembly of Pârs, *and* many other conventions to deliberate, and the united opinions of a thousand priestly *men* (magavôg) of the good religion thereon, it could remain unaltered, then, also, the various good thoughts *and* opposing considerations that, *along* with me, the

¹ Since he heard from his correspondent. The word cannot be tîsgakô, 'nine days,' as that would not tally with the dates of Eps. I and III.

² Referring probably to the Bareshnûm ceremony which Zâdsparam wished to dispense with in many cases.

minds of other heads of the religion *have* promoted, *and* shaped *or* altered decisions thereon, *and* settled and issued orders thereon, could not have seen a grievance (*seg*) *therein*. 9. And this, too, should be observed among your requirements¹, that when the fattiness² of the body is in wrinkles (*kīn*), so that four perfect *ones* of the period are provided, even then the opinion of a high-priest of the religion is greater than every opinion, *but* the law of the realm of *various* kinds³ is only through the deliberation of the same perfect *ones*; to make him decide then is not proper⁴.

10. And it would be desirable for you to take account of that which is said thus: 'Thou shouldst not practise that, O Zaratūst! when thou and three or four companions, in the village of a thanksgiver of the assembly, shall say this: "Such is an evil notion."' 11. These words of his are then not taken into account by you; and *it* is firmly and *with* acute observation determined by you, and thought preservative for yourself, that even the sin be not privately (*andarg*) declared by me unto the assembly which *has* deliberated at Shirāz⁵. 12. You order this, and

¹ J omits this phrase.

² Reading *mēsakh* or *miskhâ*; but it may be *masagîh*, 'squeezing.'

³ J has merely the words, 'even then the opinion of the high-priest *for* the realm,' which gives a reverse meaning to the text.

⁴ It appears from this, that when a supreme high-priest became very old, his worldly duties were put in commission, by being intrusted to a committee of four of the most learned priests; but the opinion of the superannuated high-priest was still supreme in spiritual matters, though not to be trusted in worldly affairs.

⁵ Whither Mānūskīhar had specially gone to hold this assembly before writing Ep. I (see Ep. I, iii, 13).

it is known that if it were a statement of yours in the assembly of the Tughazghuz¹, *you* would have been still less a speaker in private.

13. I consider that you are as much under-*hand* (air) about this, as regards yourself, as Zaratûst² the club-footed (apaf rôbd) when he arranged his garments (vakhshakîhâ), and his club-foot is itself overspread thereby even to himself, so that *he was* then approved *as good*³ by *some* of those of Kirmân⁴ when they heard *of it*, and those of Râi⁵ (Râzikânö) wrote a reply that, if *he* should be appointed by you also at a distance, *he* would then be approved by them likewise *as good*. 14. This idea of yours is more heinous than that act of his, the reply from *various* sides is more mischievous, the disgrace among the people is more unslumberable, the load upon the soul is more consumingly heavy, and the

¹ The MSS. have Tughzghuz in Pâzand. Mas'âudî states (A.D. 943) that the Taghazghaz were a powerful Turkish tribe who dwelt between Khurâsân and China, in and around the town of Kûsân, and not very far from the supposed sources of the Ganges. They had become Manicheans, having been converted from idolatry to the heretical form of Mazda-worship taught by Mazdak (see Mas'âudî, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. i, pp. 214, 288, 299, quoted at length in a note to Sls. VI, 7). It would seem from the allusion in our text that Zâd-sparam had recently been among these Taghazghaz, and might have imbibed some of their heretical opinions, so as to lead to this controversy with his brother and the orthodox people of Sirkân. That he had recently been in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân is further shown by the allusion to Sarakhs in Chap. V, 3.

² Evidently some recent pretender to the supreme high-priesthood, who had endeavoured to conceal the deformity that disqualified him for that office.

³ That is, fit for the dignity he aspired to.

⁴ Here written Gîrmân (see Dd. XCIV, 13).

⁵ Near Teherân.

severance *from*, and contest *with*, Aûharmazd and Zaratûst become more incalculably perplexing. 15. And this, too, is my summing up (khaþr)¹—when your own acquaintance with the religion and salvation of soul are *in* such force—by the parable (ân-gunt-aitakö) of that physician of the body who, when they asked about destroying the toothache, thereupon gave his reply thus: ‘Dig *it* out!’ and they rejoined thus: ‘He is always wanted *as* our physician, so that he may cure even a tooth which is diseased;’ I *would* extract its teeth² more plentifully and *with* more suspicion than he.

16. And if, also, those of the good religion in the country of Irân be, therefore, always in want of the learning and acquaintance with religion of *his* priestly lordship, so that he disperses the profession and the preparation *and* management of the remedy³ of many diseases, then he throws it away as a profession, *and* there is not much of a necessity for the wisdom *and* learning of *his* priestly lordship. 17. For *there* are *some* of the *present* time would never vouchsafe approval of a presiding fire⁴, which is in many modes an advance of foreign habits; *and* of many *things* which are in writing, *of* a nature easier and more comfortable in a worldly *sense*, they offer and

¹ J converts the phrase into ‘very heinous to me,’ by reading avîr and adding girân.

² That is, he would drive the morbid ideas from his brother’s mind.

³ Meaning the practice of the Bareshnûm ceremony, for which the priests were specially required.

⁴ Probably because they saw no necessity for the presence of the fire at the sacred ceremonies. He is warning his brother that his heretical teachings would soon make the people imagine that they could dispense with the priesthood altogether.

always give more than he who is a priest; and, *at* last, no one ever accepts *any* except him who is astute in evil *and* wicked¹.

CHAPTER II.

1. I *have* also examined that writing² in detail, and *it* is very unprepared for the remarks of the learned and those acquainted with the religion, for the sentences concocted *have* to be divided, and the slender demonstration is disconnected (aparvan-dīdō); so I consider that *it* is not sent to be seen, as regards which such a course *would*, indeed, *be* a cause of terror to purifiers. 2. *It* is so written that, while on account of *that* same terror they are very much alarmed, and are thorough in maintaining the duty of the continuance of care for water and bull's urine³, and *of* the formula of the operation, they shall more fully perform *it* as a duty provided for high-priests; even from that I am more fully of opinion that your like judgment and own concession *have* produced this explanation.

3. When I saw in the decree, such as that which you have written, that each time *one* comes unto a purifier who washes *in* such manner as is declared

¹ That is, some priest who teaches such heresies. These terms are those applied to the demons themselves in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 140, 141, 147.

² The decree of Zād-sparam, a copy of which had been sent to him by the people of Sirkân (see Ep. I, iv, 7).

³ The two liquids used in the purifying ceremony of the Bare-shnûm (see App. IV).

in revelation—which is evident, indeed, from *his* existence when *he* is a religious purifier, *and* also from *your* priestly lordship's knowledge of the rite; indeed, there is no use of *that* same decree unless the scripture of revelation, likewise, be so—*he* is to do *it with* very strict observation, *now*, since, owing to the reception of terror by the purifiers, that preparation is evidently to produce, as regards their own disposition and movements, much harm *and* irregularity, *and* perplexed thoughts *among* the people, the discredit of the decreer is generated therefrom, and it would have been more reasonable to consider the terror and doubt of the purifiers in another way.

4. That which is so explained by you as though it would remain accomplished *and* would be in notice—and this is written by you like as it were from a teaching of *some* description—is not proper; because, thus, every rite in the performance of the desired operation, even by one *single* teaching, is suitable, *which*, like the preparation for the statements of lying litigants, is very like, *but* not correct.

5. For when there are *some* who *have* furthered Mēdyôk-mâh¹ better than the teaching of Afarg¹, *it* is well when every single rite in the teaching is right; and *as to* his rite *it* is not very clear that deliverance² is promoted by maintaining *it*. 6. Even on that *occasion* when Mēdyôk-mâh *has* mentioned threefold washing, *and* Afarg once washing³, Mēdyôk-mâh is the after deponent and Afarg the prior

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j* (see App. IV), where the threefold washing is connected with the name of Afarg, and the once washing with that of Mēdyôk-mâh; but Ep. I, vi, 7-9 agrees with the statement here.

deponent¹; and, on that account, the statement is to be made as long as Mêdyôk-mâh is preserved, *but* as regards the opinion of the words of Afarg *it* is to be maintained in a state of preservation.

7. *As to* that which Afarg *has* said², that 'two purifiers are requisite,' Mêdyôk-mâh *has* also said that one is plenty; *and*, since the teaching of Sô-shâns³ is similar evidence to his, as to that which is said by him, they have thus been more unanimous that when there is one it would be proper; *and* as several high-priests have announced just the same evidence, *and* Afarg himself *and* other priests have been of the same opinion where *it* is the performance of the beginning of the Vîkaya ('exorcism')⁴, Mêdyôk-mâh is preserved. 8. Not on this account, that Afarg is more preservative⁵ through once washing, is the operation to be performed according to the teaching of Afarg, but the once washing from Afarg who is the prior deponent, *and* the one purifier from Mêdyôk-mâh who is the most corroborated are to be accepted and to be conducted.

9. And even the computers of the stars would make the position of the stars which exists when that of the sun *and* moon is from the direction (min zik) of Satvâharân⁶, that of Saturn from the direc-

¹ The words pasîmal, 'after deponent,' and pêsmâl, 'prior deponent,' are here written alike (see Ep. I, vi, 10, note).

² In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *ô* (see App. IV and compare Ep. I, vi, 1-4).

³ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁴ See Ep. I, vi, 6.

⁵ From pollution (see § 6).

⁶ The high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay is of opinion that the names of the three 'directions' mentioned in this section are the Pahlavi forms of the names of three of the lunar mansions, whose

tion of Avênak, and that of Mars from the direction of Padramgôs, a position *which* sends much good, *and* is said *to be* capable of undoubtedly (anârangak) bringing on maturity of strength. 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence (*gastö*) is a conjunction (*nazdakö*) which is not possible¹, because, if the conjunction of Satvâharân *be* exact, yet, since Saturn *and* Mars are not at *their* conjunctions (*min nazdak*), its effect is not a good configuration (*khûp tanû*); if the conjunction of Avênak *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon², *and* Mars are not at their conjunctions, its effect is not good; *and* if the conjunction of Padramgôs *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon, and Saturn are not³ at their conjunctions, the effect is

Pâzand appellations are given in Bd. II, 3; and he identifies Satvâharân with Kahtsar, Avênak with Avdem, and Padramgôs with Padêvar. The reading of all these names is, however, very uncertain. Satvâharân is written Satâharân three times out of the five occurrences of the name, and the first syllable might easily be read Gaht=Kaht, so as to correspond with the Pâzand; on the other hand, the reading Sat corresponds with Sata-bhishag or Sata-tâarakâ, the Sanskrit name of the 25th lunar mansion, Kahtsar. As Pâz. Avdem seems to be merely Pahl. afdûm, 'last,' I prefer identifying Avênak (which can also be read Avêrak) with the ninth lunar mansion, Avra (Avrak in Bd. VII, 1, Avrak in Zs. VI, 1), the Sans. Âsleshâ. Padramgôs is also written Padramgôs twice out of the three occurrences of the name; its identification with Padêvar makes it the first lunar mansion, the Sans. Arvinî. The aspect of the heavens, therefore, which is here mentioned as very auspicious, has the sun and new moon in the latter part of Aquarius, Saturn in the first part of Aries, and Mars in the latter part of Cancer, that is, twice as far from Saturn as the latter is from the sun and moon.

¹ That is, it very rarely happens; as rarely as the exact agreement of three different commentators, whom these three conjunctions are intended to represent.

² Reading *mitrô mâh*, instead of *Mêdyôk-mâh*.

³ The MSS. omit *lâ*, 'not,' by mistake.

not good; on account of¹ which, in any conjunction which is not exact, they believe *it* possible *for* a firm mind also to accomplish this auspicious labour (sukh-varzishñ), but they say the just and wise should make the decision². 11. So that this one is a very good position, because that which is truly issuing (râst-tag) through the conjunction of Satvâharân is from that mighty Satvâharân³, and that of Satvâharân *being* better through the conjunction of Padramgôs, that is done⁴.

12. You *should* understand that of the same kind is the similitude of the three teachings, of which you *have* written, with this similitude which I *have* portrayed⁵ and ordered to form and scheme, so that you *may* look at it more clearly, from a proper regard for your own deliverance⁶, *for* the sharp

¹ Reading râi, as in J, instead of the lâ, 'not,' of K35 and BK.

² That is, the circumstances are too unpropitious for any one to come to a decision without consulting those who are better qualified to judge, as is also the case when commentators disagree.

³ Reading min zak rabâ Satvâharân, but this is doubtful, because K35 has min rabâ âharân with zak Sat written above min rabâ; BK has min zak Satö (or dâdö) rabâ âharân (or khârân), which is merely reading the same characters in a different order; while J omits most of the doubtful phrase, having merely min zak-i, which, with the alteration of râst-tag into râsttar, changes the meaning into the following:—'because that which is through the conjunction of Satvâharân is more correct than that of Satvâharân, and that which is through the conjunction of Padramgos, that is done.'

⁴ Or 'that remains the effect.'

⁵ Reading nîsânîñîdö; K35 and BK omit the first letter so as to convert the word into dîhânîñîdö, which might mean 'presented.'

⁶ From pollution. There is some temptation to use the word 'salvation' for bûgîsn, but this would introduce ideas that were, no doubt, foreign to the author's mind.

intellectuality of the re-explainers of *what is* not well-considered *in connection with its purpose* (âhan-kö), *and for the accumulation of opinions that is steadfast in the law of the ancients and orders you to heed it.* 13. For, owing to the miraculousness and pre-eminence of that¹, he who thinks to restore the good ideas of the ancients does not himself understand the knowledge in that wisdom of the ancients, *and does not keep his own presumption (mīnīh) lowly and teachable; much, too, which is through his own learning is declared to be out of it (the law), and how he orders us to understand it is by his own opinion*².

CHAPTER III.

1. *It is disquieting about this, too, which is declared in your writing*³, as regards *your* vehement desire and embarrassment (rūzdīh) for a new law, and *your* wish and longing for the establishment of the law of the apostles⁴; as also that which you *have* done about the gathering of the details of statements from the three teachings⁵, *and about*

¹ The ancient law, as contained in the difficult language of the Avesta.

² That is, commentators are apt to attribute to the scriptures many opinions which really originate in themselves.

³ The decree mentioned in Chap. II, 1.

⁴ That is, the new law which the future apostles, Hūshêdar, Hūshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Dd. II, 10) are expected to bring, so as to restore the religion in preparation for the resurrection.

⁵ Those of Mēdyôk-mâh, Afarg, and Sôshâns (see Ep. I, v, 1, 6).

causing the rapid bringing of the new law. 2. And on account of your embarrassment and wrong-doing (*vadag*) they would give up the *Frasnâteê* ('washing upwards¹) and *Upasnâteê* ('washing downwards'), to bring the fifteen *times* which are without ordinance (*barâ âinakö*), that are after it², back to the fifteen which are a portion of the ordinance (*âinakö väi*).

3. *As to* the three times, each of which times *one* runs a mile (*hâsar*) even until he obtains a purifier³, since peradventure thy mile (*parasang*), too, *might* become more, all the good work is written purposely (*ag-karîhâ*) of three miles and more⁴. 4. And that, too, which the high-priests have so appointed, when *he has* striven in that manner for three persons⁵, or that sin and retribution of his is apportioned unto them *and* brought to the balance (*sangag-âinîdö*), is because that commission and retribution of sin *might* now, peradventure, be

¹ These terms are quoted from Vend. VIII, 276, 279 (see App. V), and are thus explained in Pahlavi in Chap. IV, 2.

² Referring, apparently, to the second mention of the fifteen washings, in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 281, which does not occur in the Avesta text ('the ordinance'), but refers to its previous occurrence in § 279 of the Avesta. But, perhaps, the author means that they would confound the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 with the preliminary washing appointed in the previous § 279.

³ See Vend. VIII, 280, 287, 291 (compare App. V and Ep. I, ii, 6, note).

⁴ After the polluted person has thrice run a mile, he is to run further (see Vend. VIII, 294) to some inhabited spot; from which directions the author concludes that any excess of distance is immaterial. K35 and BK have 'four miles and more,' but this seems to be a copyist's blunder.

⁵ To purify him, and, if they refuse, they each take a share of his sin (see Vend. VIII, 280-293).

allotted unto the priest¹; for if *he were* impure (palistō) there *would* be no one whatever who would properly perform the purification as it is necessary.

5. Then it *has* become indispensable *for* you to perform the purification, for that operation—so suitable for the discreet where 'he who *has been* by the dead²,' so that he has become polluted, and even 'the stars and moon and sun shine upon his life discontentedly'—is just as fit for the exalted when there is great 'propitiation of fire, water, earth, cattle, righteous males, and righteous women' thereby. 6. So great is *its* value *that* where there is no purification *of* the body *it* is not possible to purify the life *and* soul; *and* when there is a man in a realm who is able to perform it, that man is not justifiable except when he shall perform *it*.

7. Finally, when that pre-eminent operation is *being* accomplished, over which *there* is in revelation and the perfect information due to revelation that supreme³ control which you are so disputing in the religion—which even through your trifling (khûr-dakō) in the name of authority is becoming a struggle (patkâr-yehevûn)—then, though it may not be possible for you to perform *it* yourself, it should thereupon be the duty of some one of your *disciples* to perform it in your sight, so that you *may* be aware of the rite, even apart from the great resources in *that* most learned (âztûm) acquaintance

¹ Who is to purify him finally with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Referring to Vend. IX, 161-163, quoted at length in Ep. I, iv, 3.

³ Reading mahîstō, but it can also be read Mazdayastō, 'Mazda-worshipping.'

with revelation which is associated with you¹,
 8. Also from that which is repeatedly written by
 you with understanding of the rite, as regards all
 three teachings², *it* is manifest those rites are
 mentioned even *as* those *which* are more maintained,
and are not those which are unnecessary to perform.
 9. You are a something therein that *tends* to
 preserve³ a little *of* what it is not possible for thee
 to attain fully in any mode; when thou shalt obtain
 the operations of the voice⁴, and the water and
 bull's urine, as well as the three men⁵, or thou
 shalt give a man⁶ to wash therein, the intellect of
 those controlling is then, indeed, not preservative
 therein.

10. It is proper also for you to consecrate the
 water *and* bull's urine by that ritual which is in all
 three teachings, to prepare your own ritualistic
 liquid *and* other *things* which are approved among
 you with mutual assistance, *and* to appoint a purifier
 who *has* performed fully acceptably *and* been wanted.
 11. Then, to give *out* properly to the country that
 the purification is according to my order, I always

¹ That is, even when not performing the ceremony himself, his presence would be desirable, for the sake of securing due attention to all the details, with which his superior knowledge must make him better acquainted than his subordinates.

² See § 1.

³ Reading *bûkhtanö*; the MSS. divide the word, so as to convert it into *barâ tanû*, 'without a body.' The meaning is that by his presence he is, at all events, able to secure some efficiency in the ceremony, when he is compelled to intrust its performance to subordinates who are not fully competent.

⁴ In the prayers and exorcisms.

⁵ See § 4.

⁶ That is, one thoroughly qualified (the priest mentioned in § 4) who requires no special supervision.

perform *it* more acceptably than that of other purifiers. 12. For the water *and* bull's urine are all consecrated by me, and the three hundred pebbles (*sang*¹) are cast into them (*aûbas*) by me, just as it is directed; the operation is also directed by me in the three days² when it is performed, and all the customary *parts* are washed three times by me³; the ablution seats (*makö*) are also arranged by me anew for every single person, and the use of washed seats is not ordered by me therein⁴; every rite of the washing by the purifier is also so performed by me as all three teachings have mentioned as perfection. 13. You become the best of the district, as regards the minutiae (*bârikidöân*) of the purification that is within your duty, so long as they excite the sight⁵, *but* which are curtailed (*kazd*) by you in the way of washing disclosed to me⁶, while, when it should be performed by you in this manner, your performance would be equally constantly extolled *and* your writing praised.

14. When, then, you write of it that they should always perform it just as now, the falsity therein is

¹ See Ep. I, vii, 16.

² The 'three washings' mentioned in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 0 (see App. IV); referring probably to those after the third, sixth, and ninth nights (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144), that is, on the fourth, seventh, and tenth days of the Bareshnûm ceremony. Most of this clause is omitted in J.

³ As said to have been directed by Mēdyōk-mâh (see Chap. II, 6, Ep. I, vi, 7), though the extant Pahlavi Vendidâd (IX, 132, 7) attributes the order to Afarg.

⁴ Compare Ep. I, ix, 7, Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 7, s.

⁵ J has 'so long as they advance the purification as much as possible by a resemblance so approved.'

⁶ In the heretical decree under consideration.

grievous (yagar), and I know none worse; for this washing and professional purification which *one* is to keep in operation—as is declared by revelation, the teaching of high-priests, and those of the primitive faith who are esteemable¹—you withdraw (madam dârêdô) from the midst of us. 15. That *which* you understand yourself is that unto Aûharmazd the confederate good creatures are as *it were* defiled, and in the eyes of the good and wise *they are as it were* propitiatory towards the mischievous Vâê². 16. And your words about it are just as they say concerning a beggar³, where a garment is given to him, thus: ‘Wash the dirt (âlûg) on him thoroughly clean;’ and that garment they shall take is put upon the fire and burnt; and he spoke thus: ‘My dirt *was* a comfort.’

CHAPTER IV.

1. *It*⁴ is both explained again and summarized thus:—If the decree be from a law of Zaratûst, is it so decreed as he spoke it? and if they should never perform by that, do not bring the Avesta and its exposition into the midst of it. 2. For the fifteen times of which you *have* written, if from the revelation of Zaratûst, are his mode of *washing* fifteen times upwards and fifteen times downwards⁵, a rule

¹ That is, by the Avesta and Zand.

² Reading anâkō Vâê; he is the demon that carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4). Even the best creatures are imperfect in the eyes of Aûharmazd and the righteous.

³ Reading niyâzkar, instead of the niyâzar of the MSS.

⁴ His own line of argument.

⁵ See Chap. III, 2.

which is fulfilled. 3. *It is said, if one's defilement be owing to depositing any bodily refuse (higar-1), then nothing of this is ever necessary for him, for one reckoning (mar-1)¹ will smite that which he takes hold of with a finger and it is clean, or it will smite a golden yellow clean, or whatever² it shall smite is clean; but nothing merely clean is purified, unless a demon be clean³.*

4. And this, too, is very amazing to me, that when this is not taken into account by you, that when there should be, *and one should obtain, no purifier⁴ it would then be necessary for him to operate himself⁵, how then is this knowledge obtained by you, on which information (âgahîh) has reached you, that the purifying of all the purifiers of the country of Irân is just as they should always perform it.* 5. When, as I consider, there is then no complete acquaintance *with* the management of a house in you, its own master, in what manner then is your account of the gossip⁶, *and your information, about all the purifiers of the country of Irân*

¹ That is, a single washing, which is sufficient for ordinary defilements unconnected with the dead.

² This is doubtful; the word seems to be *kikê* in Pâzand, but, as the Av. *î* and *û* are much alike in Iranian MSS., it may be read *kûk-ê*, and the phrase would then be 'or it will smite a penis clean.'

³ That is, cleanliness can no more be considered purification than a demon, who is supposed to be an embodiment of impurity, can be considered clean.

⁴ J has 'when there should be no purifier it would be necessary to beg the help of a chief of the religion, and when *one* should not obtain *that*.'

⁵ As directed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

⁶ Reading *va k sakhûn*, but this is uncertain.

obtained? 6. If your *people* should abandon that *which is* most indispensable, and your account of the gossip, as regards that which the whole realm *has* done, *be* not according to the commands of religion and to sound wisdom; *and* if it has not come completely to your knowledge as the washing of the purifiers of the country of Irân—because, when you do not fix the number even of their footsteps¹, *it is* certain that *your* understanding of their disposition *and* virtuous practice is even less—then it was necessary for you to determine the reason that all the purifiers in the country of Irân always wash that way that is declared as improper, with whatever certainty *it be* uttered *or* written.

CHAPTER V.

1. If this which is said by you be a knowledge that is replete (*avkâr*) with advantage, why was it then necessary for you to keep *it* as *it were* concealed² from me, when I thus consider that, if a knowledge should be rightly obtained by you, it should then have been needful for you to report unto me on the first rumour³ from every *one* who is well-enlightened (*hû-bâm*)? 2. If this decree

¹ Referring probably either to the distance of the Bareshnûm place from pure objects, or to the distances between the holes or ablution seats, and from them to the furrows, mentioned in Vend. IX, 12, 14, 18, 22 (see App. IV).

² Reading *nihânõ*, as in J, but K35 and BK omit the first letter.

³ Assuming that *mayâg* is a pseudo-Huzvâris equivalent of *âvâg* (Pers. *âvâ*); *mayâ* being the true Huzvâris of *âv*, 'water.'

seemed so to you before, between when you have been in Pârs and this *time* when in Sîrkân, *it was* not well considered with those acquainted with the religion, the wise *and* the high-priests, *and* not even reported. 3. If not conceived by you before, then what learned acquaintance with the religion *was* acquired by you in Sarakhs¹ *and* Shirâz, about which you are enlightened? 4. And before it was to be well considered amid observation *and* meditation² what high-priest *was* obtained by you in Shirâz, who, when it was well considered with him, in completely securing himself, kept you *away* from deliberation to be decided with me *and* other priestly *men* and high-priests?

5. If not decided by you in Pârs on account of breaking *away* from me, that is *as* though you yourself understand that I *am* to keep, *in* my own person, not even in the rank of discipleship unto you, but in that which is like servitude; and my coming³, which is on your account, is even an accumulation of harm *and* distrust (tars) which you *have* amassed for yourself by *having* written *and* acted, *and* has made *me* suffer sorrow (vidvarinidö) in my own person. 6. If it had been shown to me by you *that* it would be the preservation of the religion, it would then have incited me to accept *it* steadfastly. 7. If,

¹ A town in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân, between Nishah-pûhar and Marv, but nearer the latter city. When in this town Zâd-sparam probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz mentioned in Chap. I, 12.

² J inserts the words 'by you, and through your good consideration *it was* more properly undeceiving, if done, then.'

³ Referring to his intended visit to Sîrkân, mentioned in Chaps. VI, 4, 6, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4.

for the sake of co-operation with me, a lawful decree had been even more privately propagated by you, and if the religious demonstration about it *were* conservative *and* correct, it would then have been less vexatious for you to explain *it* to me than to others who *have* less acquaintance with the decrees *and* declaration of revelation; *and* if a difference had arisen thereon, a correct reply would then have come to you more fully from me. 8. And if you conceive that it is not necessary to demonstrate *it* to me through the declaration in revelation, that deliverance which it is not necessary to announce is not to be so decreed, even in another place. 9. And, just as even in Pârs, if *it were* not decreed by you in Sirkân on that account, when your conception *was* that they would not accept *it* from you, it was necessary for you to know that, because it *was* not possible for you to provide much interval for demonstration.

10. If *its* purport *be* now considered by you, when you are moving as to the writing from Shirâz¹—which writes fully *of* your acquirement and interpretation of it, and *of* a mutilated deliverance²—the arrangements for iniquity on this subject are many. 11. And one of them is the erroneous writing³ which is with me, for you conceive that they would accept from me your *view*, as *it were* swearing (sôkandîkô) that it does not go to the filth accumulated for⁴

¹ Referring probably to Ep. I, which appears to have been written from Shirâz after holding a general assembly (see Chap. I, 11, Ep. I, iii, 13); but this epistle, judging from the remark in the text, was probably written after Mânûsêihar had left Shirâz, as was also Ep. III (see Chap. VIII, 1).

² From pollution.

³ See Chap. II, 1.

⁴ Assuming that the Pâz. pgsâhu stands for paz sâkh-i; but,

Zaratūst, and does not contend with him; *and that* the opposition (hamêmalih) does not strive *for* a new law, *and* does not increase the evil of the spirit *and* the world, since it labours *for* the hoard of the soul.

12. And, persistently concealed, that *was* done by thee, owing to which is the anguish of my life; *for it* is annoying when a wound of the soul is not actually realised by means of the decree; but if, too, it should be really avoidable, *it* is then even said *that* ignorance itself would be regenerative (navazû-dârîhâ), since *it* is not dubious to me, unless a matured knowledge of creation and some of that even *of* the angels should be in sight¹. 13. Also through their much talking, which is like Vîsaris², and much affliction, which is like the eradication of life, *there* is a perpetual demonstration then *in* every place of the country of Irân, where this information *about* its religion shall arrive, *that* they then consider thee as an apostate and an enemy of the religion.

14. And through this eager procedure of yours many troops in the provinces, who *have* to horse (aspînidanō) themselves, *have* joined Âtûrō-pâd³;

as Av. *g* and *d* are much alike, it may be pdsâhu, which, when written in Pahlavi letters, can also be read pad gêhân, 'protector of the world;' or pdsâhu may be merely a corruption of padshâh=pâdakhshah, 'sovereign.'

¹ Meaning that he should have preferred being ignorant of such a decree, unless it exhibited far more knowledge of the truth than it actually did.

² So written here in Pâzand; but, no doubt, the demon Vîzaresha (the Vîzarâsh of Dd. XXXII, 4, XXXVII, 44), who carries off the souls of the wicked, is meant.

³ The name, apparently, of some rival of his in authority, who is also mentioned in Chap. IX, 11.

for, inasmuch as those most mounted on horses¹ are the washers² of Sîrkân, who would have always thought about their abundance which is due to the archangels, they have spoken with opponents about this interpretation of the section of *scripture* (vîdak)³, and so become similarly testifying⁴, thus: 'We do not conceive it is necessary to demand thy reason for this most grievous disaster⁵, a thing which is more complete through your elucidation of doubt and the power of the enemy, owing to this way which is appointed by thee.' 15. And on that account, too, *it* is more disquieting unto me, when I am aware both of the origin of this perplexity and the surpassing contamination which is possible to arise from it.

16. And you always so observe as not to leap (lâ aīyyûkhtanō) without looking before; but temporary observation is nothing really of that *which*, by a well-stinging similitude, is what *one* observes, with the eyesight looking well forward, *when* dust of many kinds is domesticated with the sight of the

¹ Reading asp-vârakântûm, and this meaning tallies well with the previous mention of troops horsing themselves; but J, by prefixing a stroke, changes the word into vâspôharakântûm, 'those most renowned among the spheres.'

² The ceremonial washers or priests.

³ The term vîdak is applied to sections or chapters of the Avesta in Dd. XLVII, 1, 5, 6, LXVI, 4; and here it must be applied to the Avesta of Vend. VIII or IX, to which the misinterpretations of Zâd-sparam specially referred.

⁴ J has 'and so given similar testimony, which is written by them of a priest of your fame, and written by them to me.'

⁵ The diminution of their means of livelihood by the decrease of ceremonial washing, more than their apprehension of the sinfulness of such decrease.

eye; and if his intellect be not judicious he is wonderfully deceived by it; and *should* it be even when he mentions the existence of two moons, *has it* become more proved thereby? 17. *It is* a custom of the most provoking in itself, and presented disquietingly when I, who believe with a fervent mind, *would have* delivered the life even of *my* body over to the perplexing bridge¹ for your happiness and enjoyment. 18. Also, on account of my want of leisure, even the information which is presented, asking peace, is information I believe with a generous mind; and *being* aware regarding my want of leisure is both an advantage and harmful, and the heart to write of them² is, therefore, miraculous. 19. Then it is always necessary for me, who *am* in want of leisure, to write unto you so much writing of the harassing of annoyers and against disputes, of whose end there is no conception in my heart.

CHAPTER VI.

1. When at *any* time I write more pleasantly, this directs *you* to understand that still with the steadfast are my affection and natural lowly-mindedness; afterwards, too, that which *happens* when you have kept me wide away from the way of brotherhood, and higher even than a father, master, leader, ruler, or high-priest, is due to the fame and happiness of

¹ The *K'invad* bridge, or passage to heaven (see Dd. XX, 3); meaning that he would have been ready to lose his life for the sake of his brother.

² The heart to write of the 'happiness and enjoyment' of § 17.

my body *and* life, not *to* affection of character, but the position of religion *and* the command of the sacred beings. 2. On that account, when you have seen the pure religiousness, the learned knowledge, *and* the repose-promoting truth of the invisible (avênâpîh) *of* which my¹ heart is leaping with evidence, so that you are steadfast even unto the nôid asta-kâ ('not though the body') *of* which Zaratûst the Spitamân spoke²—and, because, turned by me to the religion which is thy passport (parvânakö) to the best existence, you have understood *that* it is the organizer of the greatest protection, *even* that is supposed by me—I undergo all the terror of the period in hope of the supreme recompense.

3. And the position that that religion *has* given, which on that account is mine, you have that way considered as supremacy³; and if, sent from you or another person, the opposition of *one of* the same religion is seen *to be* the dispersion and disruption of the appointed profession, I act against the continuance of the opposition, and as steadfastly as the series (zarah) of submissiveness and gratification of *your* priestly lordship *has* done to me. 4. And this *will* be undoubtedly realised by you, that if you do not turn away from this decree which is not preservative, but, *being* appointed, I reach out from

¹ The MS. J ends at this point, but the continuation of the text, as far as the word 'important' in Chap. IX, 7, is interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the same MS.

² In Vend. XIX, 26, 'not though the body, not though the life, not though the consciousness should part asunder,' would he curse the good, Mazda-worshipping religion.

³ He now proceeds from persuasion to an assertion of his authority, accompanied by threats.

the country of Irân¹, then I *shall* become its greatest attacker of you. 5. And so I consider that from my opposition it is possible *for* more harm to happen unto you than from many accusers who are like the leader of those of the good religion, the many who are as *it were* of like fame with me.

6. And also from my departure, and the non-existence *of one* that is a friend of yours, who, like me, is less able to be for your harm than he who is *one* of the many accusers of whom it is I who am the restrainer, you know this, that my coming is on account of the affection of some and the reverence of others. 7. From the exercise of religion I do not at all fall *away*, and for the sake of the position of the religion I am maintaining opposition² to any one; even when he is a friend *who* is loved by me, I am then his antagonist. 8. Fate (zîkǒ)³ is the great truth of the vacant, the form (andâm)⁴ which *has* procured the light of life.

CHAPTER VII.

1. A well-reflecting *person*, moreover, is able to understand that which is written by me, in private, in writing unto the good *people* of Sirkân, as perhaps a legitimate copy⁵ of a writing of that kind from

¹ Referring to his intended visit to Sirkân (see Chaps. V, 5, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4).

² J has 'I am an opposition.'

³ Or 'living.'

⁴ Or 'the time (hangâm).'

⁵ The MSS. have pînǒ, instead of paġînǒ. This copy of Ep. I is mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 10.

me *may be* near you; and it was like the production of some one for the tearing and rending of his own limbs, and for the purpose of bringing on that remedy—the burning, torturing medicine that is religious¹—whose purpose is to remain *away* from the steadfast while *abiding* by the commands of religion. 2. This *same* epistle², which *was* one of very great incompleteness, and one as *it were* thinking very severely, *was* similar to the decision (azad³) to which I *have* come on the same subject, *which is* written *of* below and again; and accompanying this epistle *was* a man of my own with a further epistle⁴. 3. I am discharging (vigârakö) my own *duty* as regards it⁵, where I so arrange affairs of every kind which *it* is possible for me to complete *for* a *period* of three months⁶, and come myself to *where* you are, and that mastery (kirih) which is prepared is again arranged when it is wanted by them⁷.

4. You *have* already become a reserver (khamo-sîdâr) and rapid preparer of the adaptation of words in which cogency *exists*, and *have* clearly explained

¹ Probably meaning 'remorse.'

² Ep. I.

³ Chald. ܐܝܕܐ, referring to his general mandate (Ep. III) mentioned again in Chap. VIII, 1.

⁴ The temporary epistle to Zâd-sparam (mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 1, 5), of which no copy has been preserved.

⁵ J begins as follows:—'And I *will* come later on and more combatively, when it is requisite *for* the sacred beings (or for them); I am also myself in possession of an opportunity as regards it.'

⁶ This period for his visit to Sîrkân is also mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 4.

⁷ Or 'by the sacred beings;' the words yazdân and sân being written alike.

as much as is in sight about the reason of altering that decree, concerning which your opinion is written with great judiciousness. 5. But *as to* the understanding which prompted you to write properly, and not to alter the rites *and* purifications of the Avesta, and about the duty of purifying the purifiers¹, such as *has* entered into the practice of the good, the propriety is declared in the teaching of the high-priests; *and to do it* better, so far as is possible, is to strive forwards in goodness.

6. Also, as regards changing the law of the fifteen times *washing*², just as *it is* for Irân *in* which purifiers are to be found, it is ordered for *places* to be found without purifiers; *and it is* in the countries of Irân that the order is given regarding purifiers not thus appointed for the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. To arrange again for approval the other *matters*, of which a portion is written *about* by you, an epistle³ is again prepared in advance for Sîrkân, Shirâz, *and* other *places*, so as thus to make your decree a writing of bygone offence. 2. Because, if your despatch (*first*) prepared this new proceeding, and you do not turn away *from* it, *and* do not recede through opposition *and* accumulation of vexation, *and* these others, too, like thee, shall

¹ J has 'and not to alter the purification *in* the rites of the Avesta.'

² See Chaps. III, 2, IX, 2, Ep. I, ii, 6, note.

³ Ep. III, also mentioned as a 'decision' in Chap. VII, 2.

not now abandon routine of that kind, then *your* children, your own precious *ones* who are beloved—*of* whom I know that you make them love *you*, and do not, moreover, diminish in *your* protection *of them*—shall be your accusers; *and* they shall abandon confidence *in* me as refuge and guardian, *and* in the sacred beings, through want of advice *and* want of guardianship. 3. The fires of the sacred fires whose manager is a guard *and* protection such as I, lest they *should* not obtain such an officiating priest (zôtö), *will have* in defence and guardianship of themselves to make back to *their* Shirâz abode. 4. And *I* myself *shall have* to retire (agviraziðanö) from the countries of Irân, *and* to wander forth to far distant realms where I *shall* not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. 5. In *my* occupation, moreover, my fortune (sukûn) *may be* to wander forth by water even to China, or by land even to Arûm¹; but *to be* carried off by Vâê², that uplifter, is much more my desire than when I am there where, owing to you, I hear that, as regards the glorifying of the sacred beings, which, because of my reply obtained above, *would* then *be* as much as death to me; *it would* also be the ending of that internal strife, *so* distasteful (aparvârakö) to me, which is like *his* who *has* to struggle with his own life.

¹ The eastern empire of the Romans, that is, Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions.

² The bad Vâê, who carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4).

CHAPTER IX.

1. This, too, this aged *one* (aûzvârdö¹) orders, that, *as to* the polluted of the countries of Irân, when they do not obtain another washer, their way is then through thoroughly washing *themselves*².

2. For you who are understanding the rite and capable of washing, *and* are the most forward and intelligent of the religious, so long as your previous washing is a way of no assistance, *there is this* tediously-worded epistle; moreover, all their sin you assign for your own affliction³, whose after-course is thus for their Pankadasa ('fifteenfold') washing⁴, *at* the time they shall abandon, *as* distasteful, that sin which is a new development by way of Upas-nâteê ('washing downwards')⁴; and the sinfulness is his who established that law for them.

3. And yours are truly creatures of a fetid pool (gand-âvö), who, as regards my motive, always speak about it just as they spoke thus to a priest⁵: 'Why *has* the savoury meat-offering not become forgotten by thee, *while* the firewood and incense, because it is not possible to eat *them* up, are quite

¹ From this it appears clearly that Mânûskîhar was an aged man when these epistles were written, though not too old to travel. The previous allusion to old age, however, in Chap. I, 9, may not have referred to himself.

² As provided in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

³ J omits a lag, 'affliction;'; and in K₃₅ it is doubtful whether it be struck out, or not.

⁴ See Chap. III, 2 for both these terms.

⁵ Implying that the laity were inclined to attribute his own strict enforcement of ceremonies, requiring the employment of the priesthood, to interested motives.

forgotten?' 4. Also, *as* a similitude of your affairs, they are saying that *it is* as though the stipend of guardianship *were* always to be demanded just *in accordance* with omissions of duty (avâg mâñdihâ)¹. 5. So that even while the trifle of trifles which exists *as* an interval from the title of leadership unto *that of* high-priestship—in which, except a title that is no joy of the strictly religious, there is nothing whatever—is, that way, to prepare a source of dispute as to the work which you do for the guardianship, it should, therefore, be a sufficiency (khvâr-bâr), where your own supreme work is purification itself; and to do either *what* is taught, or is advantageous, would be withdrawing from the country a demand which *has* caused disturbance (balûbâkîñdô); to subdue *it* thou shouldst always so decide the daily allowances².

6. And, to-day, I *have*, on that account, written everything sternly, because that which another person arranges and speaks so opposed *to me* in evil appearance—which is little fit *to be* prepared—when I write seasonably, and with friendly and brotherly exaltation, you direct and persevere more expressly in preparing, so that portion upon portion is thus brought forth. 7. In good old age³ the great law of after-restoration is a harsh remedy, and, on that

¹ That is, the laity attributed his brother's laxity, on the other hand, to sheer neglect of duty, and had, therefore, begun to consider his supervision hardly worth paying for.

² Meaning that by adherence to long-established custom, as regards both priestly work and priestly allowances, the laity would be better satisfied and more easily managed.

³ Reading hû-kahôbanîh; J has merely kahôbanîh, 'old age, antiquity.' He appears to be referring rather to the antiquity of the Avesta law, than to his own old age.

supposition, where a *rule* is shown to descend from their three teachings¹, and is itself regarded as true, and the wisdom of the period as impotent (anôzô-hartkô), you yourself fully imagine (hû-minêdô)² that *further restoration* is not an important³ and foremost thing. 8. Those of different faiths of various kinds *have* many usages and perplexing kinds of doubt, even about the accomplishment and explanation of the statements of the high-priests⁴, for *on* this subject, about old age (gûnânih), and even about sprinkling and about yourself accomplishing the religious *rites*, you are wisely *for* a preservation of the equally wise experience of the profession; and *as to* the heterodox, that writing which realised that even now memory is opposing you is itself evil-wishing⁵, and you know *it* is your own arrangement.

9. This, too, they⁶ say that, if *it be* on that account that the purifiers shall not always so perform the purification by all three teachings, or every rite which is proper according to one teaching, it will be necessary *that* the purifiers shall abandon purification. 10. Then about old age, the performance of the ceremonial⁷, and the many times of this which

¹ See Chap. III, 1, Ep. I, v, 1, 6.

² J has khavîtûnêd, 'you know.' He deprecates all further investigation into the meaning of the scriptures, which had already been explained by three old commentators, as he doubted the religious wisdom of the age in which he lived.

³ The continuation of the text in J ends at this point.

⁴ The commentators.

⁵ That is, the decree of Zâd-sparam, though itself objectionable was opposed to the heterodox who wished for further innovations.

⁶ The heterodox.

⁷ Referring perhaps to the performance of the Vendidâd service

are mentioned as *though this were* proper, *it* is stated as regards how it is proper that, when on account of those of the good religion they always proceed just as is mentioned in the Zand teaching of the Avesta¹, it will then be necessary *that* they shall abandon the religion. 11. And many other sayings of things like unto these are scattered about (*zerkhûnî-aitö*), and are named near *Âtûrö-pâd*² as hints from you; for this reason they are reckoned (*khaprag-aitö*) in the thoughts of men.

12. And this much is written by me in distressing haste; I consider *it* complete, and *may* peace and every happiness perpetually become hospitably attainable *and* accomplishable for you thereby, through the severe anguish *and* discomfort, *and* the eternal distress and despondency *of* the healer of affliction, *Mânûskêhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim*, director of the profession of priests of *Pârs* and *Kirmân*³.

13. Written in propitiation, praise, and benediction of the creator *Aûharmazd* and the archangels, all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, *and* every guardian spirit of the righteous. 14. Homage to the exalted pontiff (*radö*) sent from the creator *Aûharmazd*, the most heavenly of the heavenly, *Zaratûst* the *Spitamân*. 15. The

(which includes the Yasna ceremonial) as directed in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *ö*, *o* (see App. IV).

¹ It is possible also to read 'in the teaching of the Avesta *and* Zand;' but this would ignore the fact that the 'teaching' is the Zand itself.

² The same rival as is mentioned in Chap. V, 14.

³ According to Dd. XLV, 5 the *farmâdâr* or 'director' of the profession of priests of *Pârs* was the *pêsupâi* or 'leader' of the religion.

most prayerful *and* gainful of things is righteousness; great and good and perfect is Zaratūst; *and* one *only* is the way of righteousness, all the others are no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. III, 23.

EPISTLE III.

TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.

In the name of the sacred beings.

A copy of the notification (*vishâdakö*) of *his* priestly lordship Mânûskêthar, son of Yûdân-Yim, regarding the grievous sinfulness of *assuming* the propriety of washing for fifteen times.

In the name of the sacred beings.

1. It *has* come unto the ears (*vasammûnisnö*) of me, Mânûskêthar, son of Yûdân-Yim, pontiff (*rad*) of Pârs *and* Kirmân¹, that, in some quarters of the country of Irân, they whose chance happens *to be* so much² pollution, such as is decreed unto so much washing of the customary *parts* (*pîsakö*), always wash *themselves* fifteen times with bull's urine and once with water, consider themselves as clean³, and go to water, fire, and *ceremonial* ablution, the ablution

¹ See Dd. XCIV, 13.

² Reading *hâvan*; but it may be 'pollution of the spiritual life (*ahvô*),' though this is hardly possible in the next phrase, where the same word occurs.

³ By confounding the preliminary washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 279 with the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V, and compare Ep. II, iii, 2, ix, 2).

of the sacred twigs. 2. Such—although¹ they say that Zâd-sparam², son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* ordered and the high-priests *have* appointed, washing of this kind—*has* appeared to my well-reflecting (hû-min) opinion, apprehension, and appreciation very marvellous and grave, and *merely* a rumour. 3. And it is needful for me to keep those of the good religion in *all* quarters of the country of Irân informed concerning the placing reliance upon their washing with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*³, and to make my own opinion clear also as regards the writings collected.

4. And, first of all, about the indispensability of the Bareshnûm *ceremony* I write several such copies of a well-matured writing of mine⁴ as may even be new light to the intelligent. 5. That my opinion of the information provided by revelation, the decisions of high-priests, and the teachings of those of the primitive faith is thus, that washing by the polluted with water is pollution for the life and spiritual life (ahvô)⁵; they render the material *body* clear thereby, *but* that which is known as the handiwork of the immortals, and is also professionally called the Bareshnûm, when *there is* the protection of a ritual of *various* kinds, shall make the body clean from endless worldly attacks.

6. It is in the nine ablution seats (magakö)⁷ and the furrow⁸, even with prayer, bull's urine, water

¹ Reading a mat, instead of the very similar word hamâi, 'ever.'

² See the headings to Eps. I, II.

³ See App. IV.

⁴ Meaning this epistle.

⁵ Because it pollutes pure water, which is considered a sin.

⁶ Reading yadman; but it may be gadman, 'glory,' which is written in precisely the same manner.

⁷ See Ep. I, ix, 7.

⁸ See Vend. IX, 21-28 (App. IV)

and other appliances, and the ritual which is such as is declared in the teaching of revelation; and even now the purifiers, who are just as written *about* below, keep *it* in use. 7. When there is a washing they wash just as in the well-teaching statements which are known as *those* of Mēdyôk-mâh, of Afarg, and of Sôshâns¹, or *in* the statement of one of those three teachings, or in the statement of one of the high-priests *by* whom those three teachings are declared as propriety, or has come unto me as the practice of those same three teachings *by* those of the primitive faith.

8. I deem *this* deliverance² one wholly approvable, and the washer *in* a washing of that kind, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*—which is lawfully *of* that description—I consider as a purifier who is approvable. 9. And the polluted of every description, as *above* written, who *have* obtained, for any indispensable reason whatever, a purifier, as *above* written, whom even now various districts *and* various places have appointed *and* approved, are able to wash with the Bareshnûm ceremony as *above* written. 10. Then their washing fifteen times is no deliverance in any way, and to wash them quickly with the Bareshnûm ceremony as *above* written is indispensable.

11. Owing to a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnûm ceremony, as is intended, water, fire, and other *things*, not to provide care for which is un³ authorisedly is grievously sinful.

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ At this point there is a blank page in K35, and also in the MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji, which is supposed to be older; and one line is left blank in BK. It is not, however,

12. When, on account of a cleansing through another washing, distinct from the Bareshnūm ceremony,

quite certain that any text is really missing, as this section can be read continuously and translated as follows, without much difficulty:—‘*Apart* from a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnūm ceremony, as is intended, *there* would be a grievous sin against water, fire, and other things, not to provide care for which would be unauthorised.’

If some folios of text are missing, as seems quite possible from the terms applied to this epistle in § 4, the question arises whether a portion of the missing text may be contained in the following fragment on the subject of the Bareshnūm, which is appended to the passage (Ep. II, vi, 2–ix, 7) interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the MS. J:—

‘As it is declared in revelation that, if a man who *has* chanted comes upon a corpse, *whether* a dog, or a fox, or a wolf, or a male, or a female, or any *creature* on whose corpse it is possible *that* he *may* come, that good man becomes so that a man *may* become defiled by him, *and* it is necessary to wash the polluted *one*, so that it *may* not make him a sinner. In order that they *may* act so to the polluted *one* it is necessary to wash *him*, it is necessary to perform that Bareshnūm ceremony of the nine nights. If the man that is spoken of *has* worked about carrying the dead and contact with dead matter (nôšâ hamâlîh), so that they know about his defilement to whom he comes, then he *who has* done this work in contact with dead matter becomes afterwards disabled *for* that worship of the sacred beings which they perform. So, also, *some one* says (compare Vend. VIII, 271–299), where in a wilderness (vyâvân) are several priests (âsrîtvô) and a man lies on the road, there he *who* carries the dead *body* of the man who passes away—as those others remain *and* stand away helpless, without offerings of inward prayer (vâgō vakhtagân) over that person (kerpô) according to the religious way—*having* washed his body, comes into the town and performs the nine nights’ Bareshnūm ceremony twice; afterwards, his Gêtô-kharid ceremonies (see Dd. LXXIX, 4) are performed, *and* he has acted well according to the religious way; then he comes into the ceremonial of the sacred beings. “How are those men purified, O righteous *one!* who shall stand up by a corpse *which* is very dry *and* dead a year?” (See Pahl. Vend. VIII, 107, 108.) The reply is this, that “those men are purified;

they consider themselves as clean *it* is more grievously sinful; just as when they do not wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* consider themselves as clean through *washing* fifteen times, as *above* written, or on account of any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, *it* is more grievously sinful; because, when they do not wash with a Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* wash for fifteen times, as *above* written, or any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, they do not become clean, through the professional washing which is decreed, from that pollution which remains¹.

13. When without similar trouble *and* great judiciousness they go unto water *and* fire, the sin is grievous; and when they go to the bowl (padmânö) for ablution of the sacred twigs² *it* is non-ablution advisedly, *and* to perform the ceremonial therewith would not be authorised. 14. And, *in* like manner, the washing of polluted Hôrn twigs³, for any indispensable purpose, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written, is not possible.

15. Therefore, so that we *may* obtain as *it were* a remedy for it, I wash with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written; to keep the mind steadfast *and* to attain to a remedy I wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written; *and* to bestow the indispensable, comprehensive Bareshnûm, as *above* written, is indeed a good work suitable for the discreet *and* liberated

for *it is* not *to* the dry from that dryness—that is, it would not act from this polluted *thing*—that the existence of dry diffusion has arisen.”

¹ Even after the best ordinary washing.

² See Dd. XLIII, 5.

³ See Dd. XLVIII, 16.

from bonds, and the purification of body *and* soul is connected with it.

16. These *things* those of the primitive faith, who provided for the moderns, *have* communicated, whose position *was* above us moderns who are now the law (gûn) of others, and are teachers and rulers; our station as regards them is the position (gâsîh) of disciples *to spiritual* masters, *that of* listeners and servitors to form *and* hold the opinion, about the same and other *things*, which those of the primitive faith formed; *and* the teaching of even one of those high-priests is greater *and* higher than our sayings and decisions.

17. And *as to* every custom there may be in the country of Irân, about casting away the Bareshnûm ceremony, as written by me, and about all the polluted, as *above* written—whom *it* is possible to wash, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm as written by me, *and* one does not wash with the Bareshnûm as *written* by me, *but* is ordered to wash for fifteen times, as written by me, *and* to pronounce as clean—and *which* is established as a rule *one* is urged to practise, if Zâd-sparam or any one else *has* ordered, said, or decided in the name of authority *that one* is to do *so*, or *has* established *it* as a rule, or set *it* going, this is to give authoritatively my opinion, decision, and enactment upon it likewise. 18. That *those* same sayings are short-sighted (aê-vênakö), *that* same order is unlawfully *given*, *that* same decision is false teaching, *that* same rule is vicious, *that* same setting going is grievously sinful, and *that* same authority is not to be accepted; *it* is a practice, therefore, not to be performed, *and* whoever *has* performed it, is to

engage quickly *in* renunciation of it. 19. And he who *has* decreed in the country of Irân, in the name of authority, washing of *other* kinds *as* all-remedial for the polluted, *as above* written, *and has* established a rule of that description is to be considered as a heretic (aharmôkô) deserving death.

20. So, when through his wilfulness that kind of injury without enlightenment (bâm) is decreed, *and* a rule of that description is established, *as above* written, *and one* rendered polluted is washed fifteen times with bull's urine *and* once with water, or *in* whatever other mode that is distinct from the Bareshnûm *ceremony* as written by me, *though* it is possible to wash him, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm *as above* written, then, his renunciation *of sin being* accomplished, *he* is to be washed again at the nine ablution seats (magh)¹ with the Bareshnûm as written by me; *and* until washed again, as written by me, *he* is not to go to water and fire *and* the bowl for ablution.

21. And this epistle is written by me, in my own *hand-writing*, for the sake of *all* members whatever of the good religion of the country of Irân becoming aware of the opinion, apprehension, *and* appreciation of the commands of religion *entertained* by me, Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim; *and* several copies are finished *in* the month of the triumphant Horvadad of the year 250 of Yazdakard².

22. In trustfulness and gratitude to the sacred beings, *and* homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from³

¹ See § 6.

² The third month of the Parsi year 250, which corresponded to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ Reading min, as in Ep. II, ix, 14, instead of mûn, 'who.'

the creator Aôharmazd, the heavenly, most rigorous, *and* glorified Zaratûst the Sptamân. 23. For the sake of obtainments of prayers the one thing the righteousness of the Sptamân; great, good, *a* perfect is Zaratûst; one *only* is the way of perfect righteousness, which is the way of those of the primitive faith; all the others, appointed afresh, *a* no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. II, ix, 15. This epistle is followed in K₃₅, by the Selections of Zâd-sparam, of which the first part is translated in the fifth volume of the Sacred Books of the East.

APPENDIX.

- I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSP.
- II. THE NÍRANG-I KUSTÎ
- III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS.
- IV. THE BARESHNÛM CEREMONY.
- V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions of the translations into sentences or sections the translator is responsible, as such divisions are rarely made in the manuscripts.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B29 (written A. D. 1679), a Persian Rivāyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

BK, J, K35, M10 (as described on page 278).

L4 (written about A. D. 1324), a Vendidad with Pahlavi, in the India Office Library in London.

M7 (written A. D. 1809), miscellaneous Parsi-Persian writings, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

APPENDIX.

I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSP.

THE Avesta informs us that Keresâspa was a son of Thrîta the Sâman, and the brother of Urvâkshaya¹. From the name of his father's family he is sometimes called Sâma Keresâspa², but his more usual title is Naremanau or Nairimanau, 'the manly-minded³'. He is described as 'a youthful hero, wearing side-locks and carrying a club⁴,' to whom the witch Knâthaiti⁵ attached herself; she whom Zarâtûst promised to destroy by means of the apostle Saoshyâs, who is to be born hereafter⁶. And his body is watched over by 99,999 guardian spirits⁷.

¹ See Yas. IX, 30, 31.

² See Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136. Hence he is often called Sâm in Pahlavi works (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 9, Byt. III, 60, 61); and, in a passage interpolated in some manuscripts of the Shâhnâmah, we are informed that Garsâsp was son of Atrat, son of Sam, which is evidently a reminiscence of Keresâsp being a son of Thrîta the Sâman (see also Bd. XXXI, 26, 27).

³ See Âbân Yt. 37, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38, 40, 44. Hence we have Sâm, son of Narîmân, as the grandfather of Rustam in the Shâhnâmah.

⁴ See Yas. IX, 33. M. de Harlez converts the side-locks into some weapon called *gaêsus*, but this word still survives in Pers. *gês* or *gêsû*, 'ringlet, side-lock.'

⁵ See Vend. I, 36. Or it may be 'the witch whom one destroys, or to whom one prays,' if we translate the name.

⁶ See Vend. XIX, 18.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 61. For the reason of this watchfulness, see Dd. XVII, 6 n.

Of his exploits we are told that he 'slew the serpent Srvara, which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth high. On which Keresâsp cooked a beverage in a caldron at the midday hour and the serpent being scorched, hissed, sprang forth away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water. Keresâsp, the manly-minded, fled aside frightened¹. We are further told that he slew the golden-heeler Gandarewa²; that he smote Hitâspa in revenge for the murder of his brother, Urvâkshaya³; that he smote the Hunus who are the nine highwaymen, and those descended from Nivika and Dâstayâni⁴; also Vareshava the Dânyan, Pitaona with the many witches, Arezô-shamana, and Snâvidhaka⁵; and that he withstood many smiters or murderers⁶.

The details of these exploits, still extant in the Avesta, are very scanty; but some of them appear to have been more fully described in a legend about the soul of Keresâspa which formerly constituted the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, the contents of which are thus summarized in the ninth book of the Dînkard:—

'The fourteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhsht*⁷, is about

¹ See Yas. IX, 34-39, *Zamyâd Yt.* 40 (translated in Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179).

² See *Âbân Yt.* 38, *Zamyâd Yt.* 41. A monster in the wide shored ocean, who is also mentioned in *Râm Yt.* 28.

³ See *Râm Yt.* 28, *Zamyâd Yt.* 41.

⁴ See *Zamyâd Yt.* 41. For 'Hunus' some read 'sons.'

⁵ See *Zamyâd Yt.* 41-44.

⁶ See *Fravardîn Yt.* 136.

⁷ The name of Yas. XLIV, being the first two words, a *fravakhsyâ*, of that chapter of the Gâthas. In the detailed account of the contents of each fargard of the first three Nasks given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, each fargard is distinguished

Aûharmazd's showing the terrible state of the soul of Keresâsp¹ to Zaratûst; the dismay of Zaratûst owing to that terrible state; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûharmazd, as extinguishing his fire. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûharmazd for those exploits when the serpent (*gaz*) Srôbar² *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep³ with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Hunus *of* Veskö⁴, who are

by the name of some section of the Gâthas. The names thus employed are composed of the first one, two, or three words of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, the Ashem-vohû, the Yênhê-hâtâm, Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV, the Yasna haptanghâiti, Yas. XLII-L, LII, LIII, which supply the twenty-two names required. When the Nask contains twenty-three fargard's, as in the case of the Varstmânsar, the first fargard remains unnamed. Whether these words were used merely as names, or whether their insertion implies that the fargard's of these Nasks used to be recited (somewhat like those of the Vendîdâd) alternately with the sections of the Gâthas, can hardly be determined from our present information. It may be noted that the three Nasks (Sûdkar, Varstmânsar, and Bakô), whose contents are thus detailed in the Dînkard, all belong to the so-called gâsânîk or Gâtha class of Nasks; but whether that term implies that they were metrical, or merely that they were connected in some way with the Gâthas, is also uncertain.

¹ Written Kerêspô, or Gerêspô, throughout the Pahlavi text of this paragraph.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ The Gandarewa of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁴ Reading Hunû Veskö, but it is also possible to read khûnô-dâkô, 'blood-producing,' which is fully applicable to these highway-robbers. The 'Hunus in Vaêska' are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 54, 57 as opponents of the warrior Tusa, but the Hunus in Zamyâd Yt. 41 have no country assigned to them.

*descendants of Nivik and Dâstânk*¹, were slain him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing them; and when the mighty wind² was appeased him, and brought back from damaging the world benefiting the creatures; and for that which *happened* when, owing to confinement³, Dahâk becomes eager rushes on for the destruction of the world, and attempts the annihilation of the creatures; and he being roused to smite him and to tame that powerful fiend for the creatures of the world. The opposition of fire to Keresâsp, through *his* causing distress to and keeping away from it, which were owing to his seeking hell; the supplication of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon *him*, which was owing to his sin; the compliance of the fire with that request and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence⁴. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness⁵.

Although the Sûdkar Nask has long been lost, the legend contained in this fourteenth fargard still survives in its Pahlavi form, though probably somewhat abridged, and a Persian paraphrase of the Pahlavi version is also to be found in the Persian

¹ The Nivika and Dâstayâni of Zamyâd Yt. 41.

² The wind (*vâdō*), though an angel when moderate and useful is supposed to become a demon in a gale or hurricane; and is mentioned as such in Vend. X, 24.

³ In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, Byt. III, 55-61). This exploit is expected to be performed hereafter.

⁴ The *hamîstik ō ahvânō*, intermediate between heaven and hell (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁵ The Pahlavi equivalent of the Av. *ashem vohû*, here translated as follows each summary of the contents of a fargard or Nask in the *Dinkard*, in the same way as *ashem vohû* follows each fargard in the *Vendidâd* and each section of the *Gâthas* in the *Vendidâd sâc* or liturgy.

Rivâyats¹. The Pahlavi legend is included among a series of quotations, regarding the importance of fire, contained in a Pahlavi Rivâyat preceding the *Dâdistân-i Dînik* in some manuscripts²; and its close correspondence with the above summary of the fourteenth fargard of the *Sûdkar Nask* will be seen from the following translation of it:—

. . . . 'And *it* is declared that fire is so precious that *Aûharmazd* spoke unto *Zaratûst* thus: "Of whose soul is it *that* the actions³, position, consciousness, and guardian spirit seem best when thou shalt behold *it*?"

'And *Zaratûst* spoke thus: "Of him who is *Keresâsp*."

'*Aûharmazd* summoned the soul of *Keresâsp*, and the soul of *Keresâsp* saw⁴ *Zaratûst* and, on account of the misery which it had seen in hell, it spoke unto *him* thus: "I have been a priest of *Kâpûl*⁵, which should be a power in support of me; and for the sake of begging life I have ever travelled through the world, and the world would have become hideous in my eyes, the world which should have feared my splendour⁶."

¹ In B29, fols. 167-169, where it is quoted from a work called the *Sad-darband-i Hûsh*.

² In BK and J; but in K35 this portion of the Rivâyat has been lost, with the first 71 folios of that MS.; it also appears to have been similarly lost from the older MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria.

³ J omits this word.

⁴ J omits the seeing.

⁵ *Kâbul*. One of the three most sacred fires, the *Frôbak* fire, is said to have been removed by *Vistâsp* from *Khvârizem* to *Kâvulistân* (see Bd. XVII, 6). The Persian version has 'would to God (*kâskê*) I were a priest!' and alters the rest of the sentence to correspond.

⁶ Reading *rê-î li*; J has 100 var, 'a hundred lakes (or ordeals or results).'

'And Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son¹, *was* extinguished by thee, and no care *of it was* provided by thee."

'And the soul of Keresâsp spoke thus: "Forgive me, O Aûharmazd! and grant me the best existence! grant me the supreme heaven! The serpent (azð) Srôvbar² is slain outright, which *was* swallowing horses *and* swallowing men, and its teeth were as long as my arm, its ear was as large as fourteen blankets (namadð), its eye was as large as a wheel, and its horn was as much as Dahâk³ in height. And I was running as much as half a day on *its* back, till *its* head *was* smitten by me at the neck *with* a club made for *my* hand, and *it was* slain outright by me⁴. And if that serpent had not been slain by me, all thy creatures would have *been* completely annihilated by it, and thou wouldst never have known a remedy for Aharman."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant me, O Aûharmazd! that best existence, the supreme heaven! for by me Gandarep⁵ *was* slain outright, by whom twelve

¹ Fire is often called 'the son of Ahura-mazda' in the Avesta, as in Yas. II, 18, Vend. V, 9, &c.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40. The Persian version has merely azdahâ, 'a dragon.'

³ Or it may be shâk, 'a bough.' The Persian version has 'eighty cubits.'

⁴ The Persian version adds 'and as I looked into its mouth, men were still hanging about its teeth;' which was evidently suggested by what is stated in the account of the next exploit.

⁵ See p. 371, note 3.

districts *were* devoured at once. When I looked among the teeth of Gandarep, dead men¹ were sticking among his teeth; and my beard *was* seized by him, and I dragged him out of the sea²; nine days and nights the conflict *was* maintained by us in the sea, and then I became more powerful than Gandarep. The sole of Gandarep's foot *was* also seized by me, and the skin *was* flayed off up to *his* head, and with it the hands and feet of Gandarep *were* bound; *he was* also dragged by me out to the shore of the sea, and *was* delivered by me over to Âkhrûrag³; and he slaughtered *and* ate my fifteen horses. I also fell down in a dense thicket (aîsakö), and Gandarep carried off *my* friend Âkhrûrag, and she who was my wife *was* carried off by him⁴, and my father *and* nurse (dâyakö) *were* carried off by him. And I took under *my* protection (dinhârî-gînidö) and raised all the people *of* our pleasant *place*, and every single step I sprang forward a thousand steps, and fire fell into everything which *was* struck by my foot *as* it sprang forward⁵; I went out to the sea, and they were brought back by me,

¹ The Persian version says 'horses and asses.'

² For this clause the Persian version substitutes 'the sea was up to his knee, and his head up to the sun.'

³ This is merely a guess. The word can also be read khârvarag, 'thorny, or a thorny brake;' but it seems to be the name of some person, being followed by the word dôstö, 'friend,' in the next sentence. Âkhrûra, son of Haosravangh, is mentioned in Fravarân Yt. 137, next after Sâma Keresâspa, as 'withstanding Hashi-dava (or daêva), the wicked and covetous one destroying the world.' The Persian version omits from the dragging out of the sea in this sentence to the slaying in the next (p. 376, line 1).

⁴ BK has 'by me,' which must be a blunder.

⁵ J omits these last seven words.

and Gandarep *was* taken and slain by me¹. And if he had not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for *thou art* hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant *me*, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! for I have slain the highwaymen² who were so big in body that, when they were walking, people considered in this *way*, that 'below them are the stars and moon, and below them moves the sun *at* dawn, and the water of the sea reaches up to their knees.' And I reached up to their legs, and they were smitten on the legs by me; they fell, and the hills on the earth *were* shattered by them³. And if those fallen⁴ highwaymen *had* not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant me, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! When the wind *was* weakened (*rakhtö*) and paralysed by me, the

¹ The Persian version says, 'I slew him, and as he fell down many villages and places became desolate.'

² The 'nine highwaymen' of Zamyâd Yt. 41. The Persian version says 'seven.' BK has 'walked,' instead of 'slain.'

³ Instead of this sentence the Persian version has 'through fear of them people could not go on any journey, and every one whom they might see, on the road that he went, they would instantly eat up; and in three years they reckoned three hundred thousand men they had slain and destroyed. And I fought with them and slew all the seven.'

⁴ J omits the word 'fallen.'

demons deceived the wind, and they spoke unto the wind thus: 'He is more resisting thee than all the creatures and creation, and thou shouldst think of him thus, that "there is no one walks upon this earth more resistant of me than Keresâsp;" he despises demons and men, and thee, too, who shouldst be the wind, even thee he despises.' And the wind, when those words were heard by it, came on so strongly that every tree and shrub which was in its path was uprooted, and the whole earth which was in its path was reduced to powder (payangânôft-aitö kardö), and darkness arose. And when it came to me, who am Keresâsp, it was not possible for it to lift my foot from the ground; and I arose and sallied forth (barâ yehabünd) upon the earth, and I stood upon it, with both feet on an equality (mirih), until a rampart (püstö) of it was completed, so that I might go again below the earth; that which Aûharmazd ordered thus: 'Should I appoint a keeper of the earth and sky, they would not forsake me!'. And if that thing had not been done by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, was smitten by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant me, O Aûharmazd! heaven or the supreme heaven! for it is thus

¹ The Persian version has 'and as it arrived near me, it was not able to bear my foot from the spot; and I seized the spirit of the wind, and overthrew him with my own strength, until he made a promise thus: "I will go again below the earth." And I did not keep back my hand from that work less than Aûharmazd and the archangels ordered me.'

declared by revelation, that, when Dahâk has escaped from confinement¹, no one is able to seek *any* other remedy *against* him but me; on that account grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven! And if it be not possible to grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven, give me again the strength and success which were mine during life! for when thou shalt give me again so much strength and success *as* were mine when I was produced alive, I will slay Aharman with the demons, I *will* eradicate darkness from hell, I will complete the beautiful light, and within its sole existence (tanû-aê)² you *shall* sit and move³."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "This I *will* not give thee, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! because men shall commit sin; and until men commit no more sin, it is not possible to make thee alive again, and thou wouldst also not be able to make other men alive again, for they produce the resurrection thus, when all men become quite innocent. When men shall die, and their souls are wicked, all comfort shall forsake them, and all the misery and discomfort occasioned by them *shall* remain."

'When Keresâsp *and* his exploits were spoken of in this manner, the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences* wept aloud, and

¹ See Byt. III, 55-61. The Persian version substitutes a legend about the gigantic bird Kamak (also mentioned in Mkh. XXVII 50) which overshadowed the earth, and kept off the rain till the rivers dried up; it also ate up men and animals as if they were grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it by shooting it with arrows continuously for seven days and nights.

² That is, when there is only light, and no darkness.

³ J has 'I *will* sit and move alone within it;' and the Persian version has 'I will sit alone in that place.'

Zaratûst the Spîtamân wept aloud¹ and spoke thus : " Though *there* should be no deceiver, I would be the deceiver in *thy* eyes², O Aûharmazd! as regards the soul of Keresâsp ; for when Keresâsp should not have existed as a bodily and living *existence*, *there* would have been no remnant of anything whatever, or of creature of thine, in the world³."

' When Zaratûst had become silent therewith, the *angel of fire*⁴ stood upon *his* feet⁵, and the sinfulness of Keresâsp unto himself *was* fully mentioned by him, and he spoke thus : " I shall not let him into heaven."

' And the *angel of fire*, *having* spoken thus many

¹ The Persian version does not mention the angels and the weeping.

² This can also be translated thus : ' Though thou shouldst be no deceiver, thou wouldst be a deceiver in *my* eyes ;' the words hômanâyê, ' would be,' and hômanêš, ' thou wouldst be,' being written alike.

³ The Persian version of this speech is, ' O good creator ! I know that hatred and anger are not in thy path, and when any one indulges in hatred of another, there is no acquiescence of thine therein, yet now I see this matter as though some one maintained hatred against another.'

⁴ The Persian version says ' the archangel Ardibahist,' who is the protector of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13).

⁵ The Persian version proceeds, and concludes the sentence, as follows : ' and Keresâsp groaned unto Zaratûst the Spîtamân, and Ardibahist, the archangel, said : " O Zaratust ! thou dost not know what Keresâsp has done unto me ; that in the world, formerly, my custom and habit would have been so, that, as they would place firewood under a caldron, I would send the fire, until that caldron should be boiled, and their work should be completed, *and* then it would have come back to its own place. As that serpent that he speaks of *was* slain he became hungry, and because the fire fell one moment later upon the firewood which he had placed below the caldron, he smote the fire *with* a club and scattered the fire, *and* now I *will* not pass the soul of Keresâsp to heaven."

words, desisted; and the angel Gôś-aúrvan¹ stood upon *her* feet, and spoke thus: "I shall not let *him* into hell, for the benefit produced by him for me *was* manifold."

'Gôś-aúrvan, *having* spoken thus many words, desisted²; and Zaratûst stood upon *his* feet, and homage *was* offered by him unto the fire, and he spoke thus: "I shall provide care for thee, and shall speak of thy exploits in the world, and I shall speak to Vistâsp³ and Gâmâsp⁴ thus: 'Observe fully that a place is made *for* the fire as *it were* at once!' when Keresâsp *has* engaged in renunciation of *sin*, and you shall forgive him⁵.'"

The Pahlavi legend breaks off at this point, leaving

¹ Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' that is, of the primeval ox, from which all the lower animals are supposed to have been developed. This angel, who is usually called Gôś, is said to be a female, and is the protectress of cattle (see Bd. IV, 2-5); in this capacity she is supposed to be friendly to Keresâsp, whose exploits had chiefly consisted in slaying the destroyers of animal life.

² The Persian version omits these words, and the preceding paragraph, proceeding in continuation of note 5, p. 379, as follows: 'And as Ardîbahist, the archangel, spoke these words, the soul of Keresâsp wept and said: "Ardîbahist, the archangel, speaks truly; I committed sin and I repent." And he touched the skirt of Zaratûst *with his* hand, and said: "Of mankind no one has obtained the eminence, rank, and dignity that thou obtainedst; now, through this grandeur and glory which is thine, do thou entreat and make intercession of Ardîbahist, the archangel, for me! so that it may be that I obtain liberation from this distress and torment.'"

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 36.

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 16.

⁵ The Persian version continues as follows: 'And as Zaratûst the Spîtamân made intercession, Ardîbahist, the archangel, said: "Thy reputation is immense, and thy will is great." And after that he made no opposition to the soul of Keresâsp, but pardoned *it* for Zaratûst the Spîtamân; and the soul of Keresâsp obtained liberation from that discomfort.' This version then concludes with an admonition as to the necessity of treating fire with proper respect.

the reader to infer that Zaratûst's request was granted. It is succeeded, however, by the following further remarks about Keresâsp, which are evidently connected with the same legend:—

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "Whose is the first dead *body* thou shalt unite (*varâzêš*)?"

'And Aûharmazd spoke thus¹: "*His* who is Keresâsp²."

'And it seemed grievous to Zaratûst, and he spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "When the business of Keresâsp was the slaughter of men, why is his the first dead *body* thou wilt prepare?"

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Let it not seem grievous to thee, O Zaratûst! for if Keresâsp had not existed, and thus much work had not been done by him, which *has* been stated, *there* would have been no remains of thee, nor of any creature of mine."

Besides the Persian paraphrase of this legend, in prose, the Persian Rivâyats contain another version in metre, which consists of 173 couplets³. The exploits of Keresâsp are also mentioned in the Mainyô-i Khard (XXVII, 49-53) as follows:—

'And from Sâm the advantage was this, that by him the serpent Sruvar, the wolf Kapôd which they also call Pehan⁴, the water-demon Gandarfi, the bird Kamak⁵, and the bewildering⁶ demon *were* slain.

¹ J omits the following words as far as the next 'thus.'

² Referring to the revival of Keresâsp from his trance, in order to destroy Dahâk, which is expected to take place before the general resurrection (see Bd. XXIX, 8, Byt. III, 59-61).

³ In B29, fols. 169-171, it is quoted from 'the book of Bahirâm Fîrûz.'

⁴ Written Pêhinô, or Pasinô, in the Pahlavi text.

⁵ See p. 378, note 1.

⁶ Or 'seducing,' or 'desolating.'

And also many other great actions, that *were* most valuable, he performed; and he kept back no disturbance from the world, of which, if one of the special disturbances had remained behind, it would not have been possible to effect the resurrection and the future existence.'

II. THE NĪRANG-I KUSTĪ.

THE Nīrang-i Kustī, or girdle formula, is a religious rite which a Parsi man or woman ought to perform every time the hands have been washed, whether for the sake of cleanliness, or in preparation for prayer; but it is not always strictly performed in all its details.

The Kustī, or sacred thread-girdle, is a string about the size of a stay-lace, and long enough to pass three times very loosely round the waist, to be tied twice in a double knot, and to leave the short ends hanging behind. It is composed of seventy-two very fine, white, woollen threads, as described in Dd. XXXIX, 1, note, and is tied in the manner there mentioned, but with the actions and ritual detailed below¹.

The ceremonial ablution having been performed, and the Kustī taken off, the person stands facing the sun by day, or a lamp or the moon at night; when there is no light he should face the south, as he should also at midday, even when the sun is northerly². The Kustī is then doubled, and the loop thus formed is held in the right hand, with the thumb in the loop; while the left hand holds the two parts of the string together, some twenty inches horizontally from the other hand; and the ends hang loosely from the left hand.

¹ For most of the details which follow I am indebted to Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā.

² As it is, in Bombay, for about two months in the summer.

Holding the Kusti in this fashion, the person recites the following prayer in Pâzand, bowing and raising to his forehead the horizontal portion of the string at the name of *Aûharmazd*, dashing the string loosely and sharply downwards towards the left when mentioning Aharman, and repeating this downward jerk to the left, less violently, as each of the other evil beings is named:—'May *Aûharmazd* be lord *and* Aharman unprevailing, keeping far away, smitten *and* defeated! May Aharman, the demons, the fiends the wizards, the wicked, the Kiks, the Karaps¹, the tyrants, the sinners, the apostates, the impious, the enemies, *and* the witches be smitten *and* defeated! May evil sovereigns be unprevailing! May the enemies be confounded! May the enemies be unprevailing!'

Bending forwards and holding the doubled Kusti up, horizontally, as before, he continues: '*Aûharmazd* is the lord; of all sin I am *in* renunciation and penitent, of all kinds of evil thoughts, evil words *and* evil deeds, whatever *was* thought by me, and spoken by me, and done by me, and happened through me, and has originated through me in the world.'

Then, holding the Kusti single with both hands near the middle of the string, but as far apart as before, while the loose ends of the string are short

¹ These two Pahlavi names are merely transliterations of the Av Kavi and Karapan, the names of certain classes of evil-doers traceable back to the earliest times, and, probably, to the Vedic *kavi* and *kalpa*, which would naturally be used in a bad sense in the Avesta (see Haug's Essays, p. 289). The Pahlavi translators of the Yasna explain these names by the words *kûr*, 'blind,' and *kar* 'deaf,' which are merely guesses.

ened (to prevent their touching the ground) by being partially gathered up in a large loop hanging under each hand, like a pair of spectacles, he proceeds: 'For those sins of thought, word, *and* deed, of body *and* soul, worldly *and* spiritual, do thou pardon this one¹! I am penitent *and* in renunciation through the three words².'

He then continues to recite the following Avesta phrases: 'Satisfaction for Ahura-mazda!' bowing and raising the Kustī to the forehead; 'scorn for Angra-mainyu!' jerking the Kustī to the left, without altering the mode of holding it; 'which is the most forward of actual exertions through the will. Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing *be* to that which *is* righteousness to perfect rectitude³.' Applying the middle of the Kustī to the front of the waist at the first word, 'righteousness,' of the last sentence, it is passed twice round the waist during the remainder of the sentence, by the hands meeting behind, exchanging ends, and bringing them round again to the front.

The following Avesta formula is then recited: 'As a *patron* spirit is to be chosen, so is an *earthly* master, for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thought of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he has given

¹ The Pázand word is ukhê or aokhê, which the Gugarâti Khurdah Avesta translates by khudâtâelâ, 'most high God;' but it seems more probably a misreading of Pahl. hanâ-ī, 'this one.' These phrases are a portion of the Patit or renunciation of sin.

² That is, in thought, word, and deed. So far the phrases are recited in Pázand, but the following recitations are in the Avesta language.

³ This last sentence is the Ashem-vohî formula (see Bd. XX, 2).

as a protector for the poor¹. At the first word the long ends of the Kusti, hanging in front, are loosely twisted round each other at the waist, with a right-handed turn (that is, with the sun), and the reciter holding his hands together, should think that Aûhar mazd is the sole creator of the good creation, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the twist is drawn closer to the waist during the remainder of the recitation.

The same Avesta formula is then repeated. At the first word the second half of the knot is formed by twisting the long ends of the Kusti loosely round each other with a left-handed turn (that is, against the sun), so as to complete a loose reef-knot, and the reciter, holding his hands together, should think that Mazda-worship is the true faith, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the complete double knot is drawn close during the remainder of the recitation.

Then, passing the long ends of the Kusti round the waist for the third time, from front to back, the previous Avesta formula, 'Righteousness is the best good,' &c., is recited. At the first word the ends of the Kusti are loosely twisted round each other behind the waist, with a right-handed turn as before, and the reciter should think that Zaratûst was the true apostle, until he comes to the first occurrence of the word 'blessing,' when the twist is drawn close. During the remainder of the formula the second half of the knot is formed, with a left-handed twist as before, while the reciter thinks that he must practise

¹ This is the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see B I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19).

good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and avoid all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds; the double knot being completed behind as the last word of the formula is uttered.

Afterwards, bending forward and holding the front knot of the Kustī with both hands, the person recites the following Avesta formula: 'Come for my protection, O Mazda¹! A Mazda-worshipper am I, a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper will I profess *myself*, both praising and preferring *it*. I praise a well-considered thought, I praise a well-spoken word, I praise a well-performed deed. I praise the Mazda-worshipping religion, expelling controversy² *and* putting down attack, *and* the righteous union of kinsfolk³, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian *and* Zarathustrian. I ascribe all good to Ahura-mazda. Let this be the eulogy of the Mazda-worshipping religion.' And the reciter then repeats the formula, 'Righteousness is the best good,' &c., as before, bowing reverently, which completes the rite.

¹ What follows is from Yas. XIII, 25-29, and is the conclusion of the Mazda-worshipper's creed.

² The meaning of the original term *fraspâyaokhedhrām* is rather uncertain, and the Pahlavi version is not easy to understand clearly; it translates this sentence, as far as the next epithet, as follows: 'I praise the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, from which the disunion cast forth *and* the assault put down are manifest (this is manifest from it, that it is not desirable to go to others without controversy, and with that which arises without controversy it is quite requisite to occasion controversy).'

³ This is one of the earliest references to *hvaêtvadatha*, or marriage among next-of-kin; the passage being written in the later Gâtha dialect.

During the rite the person performing it must remain standing on the same spot, without stepping either backwards or forwards, and must speak to one. Should anything compel him to speak, he must re-commence the rite after the interruption.

III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS OR KHVÊTÛDÂD.

THAT the term Khvêtûk-das is applied to marriages between kinsfolk is admitted by the Parsis, but they consider that such marriages were never contracted by their ancestors within the first degree of relationship, because they are not so permitted among themselves at the present day. Any statements of Greek, or other foreign, writers, regarding the marriage of Persians with their mothers, sisters, or daughters, they believe to be simply calumnies due to ignorance, which it is discreditable to Europeans to quote¹. Such statements, they consider, may have referred to the practices of certain heretical sects, but never to those of the orthodox faith.

The Parsis are, no doubt, fully justified in receiving the statements of foreign writers, regarding the customs of their ancestors, with proper caution; a caution which is quite as necessary when the statements are agreeable as when they are disagreeable to present notions. The Greeks, especially, had such a thorough contempt for all foreign customs that differed from their own, that they must have found it quite as difficult to obtain correct information, or to form an impartial opinion, about oriental habits as the average European finds it at the present time. On the other hand, the Parsis have to consider that the ancient Greek writers, whose statements they repudiate, were neither priests nor zealots, whose accounts of religious cus-

¹ See Dastûr Peshotanji's translation of the *Dînkard*, p. 96, note.

toms might be distorted by religious prejudices, but historians accustomed to describe facts as impartially as their information and nationality would permit. It is quite possible that these writers may have assumed that such marriages were common among the Persians, merely because they had sometimes occurred among the Persian rulers; but such an assumption would be as erroneous as supposing that the marriage practices of the Israelites were similar to those of their most famous kings, David and Solomon, forgetting that an oriental sovereign is usually considered to be above the law and not subject to it.

Rejecting all statements of foreigners, as liable to suspicion, unless confirmed by better evidence, it seems desirable to ascertain what information can be obtained, on this subject, from the religious books of the Parsis themselves. This matter has hitherto been too much neglected by those best acquainted with the original texts, and must be considered as only partially exhausted in the following pages.

The term Khvêtûk-das¹ is a Pahlavi transcription of the Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, to, or by, one's own,' and is sometimes partially translated into the form Khvêtûk-dâd, or Khvêtû-dâd, in which the syllable *dâd*, 'what is given, a gift,' is merely a translation of the syllable *das* (Av. *datha*).

The Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha* is not found in any of the Gâthas, or sacred hymns, that are still extant and are usually considered the oldest portion

¹ Occasionally written Khvêtûk-dat, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 (see p. 392).

of the Avesta. But its former component, *hvaêtu*, occurs several times therein, with the meaning 'one's own, or kinsman,' as distinguished from 'friends' and 'slaves.'

The earliest occurrence of the complete word is probably in Yas. XIII, 28¹, where it is mentioned as follows:—'I praise . . . the righteous *Hvaêtvadatha*, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian *and* Zarathustrian.' This merely implies that *Hvaêtvadatha* was a good work of much importance, which is also shown by Visp. III, 18, Gâh IV, 8, and Vistâsp Yt. 17, where the *Hvaêtvadatha* (meaning the man who has accomplished that good work) is associated with youths who are specially righteous for other reasons. But there is nothing in any of these passages to indicate the nature of the good work.

In Vend. VIII, 35, 36 we are told that those who carry the dead must afterwards wash their hair and bodies with the urine 'of cattle or draught oxen, not of men or women, except the two who are *Hvaêtvadatha* and *Hvaêtvadathi*,' that is, male and female performers of *Hvaêtvadatha*. This passage, therefore, proves that the good work might be accomplished by both men and women, but it does not absolutely imply that it had any connection with marriage.

Turning to the Pahlavi translations of these passages we find the transcription *Khvêtûk-das*, *Khvêtûk-dat*, or *Khvêtûk-dasîh*, with explanations which add very little to our knowledge of the nature of

¹ See p. 387, note 3.

the good work. Thus, Pahl. Yas. XIII, 28 merely states that it is 'declared about it that it is requisite to do *it*;' Pahl. Vistâsp Yt. 17¹ asserts that 'the duty of Khvêtûk-das is said *to be* the greatest good work in the religion, that, owing to it, Aharman, the demon of demons, is becoming hopeless, so that the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is worthy of death;' and Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 speaks of 'the two who are a Khvêtûk-dat man *and* woman², that is, it is done by them.'

Another reference to Khvêtûk-das in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta occurs in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4, as follows:—'Thus I proclaim in the world that [which he who is Aûharmazd made his own] best [Khvêtûk-das]³. By aid of righteousness Aûharmazd is aware, who created this *one*⁴ [to perform

¹ The age of this Pahlavi version of the Vistâsp Yast is doubtful, and it is even possible that it may have been composed in India. The only MS. of it that I have seen belongs to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, who kindly gave me a copy of it, but seemed doubtful about the age of the translation. He was aware that his MS. was written some forty years ago, but he did not know from what MS. it was copied. This version is, however, mentioned in the list of Pahlavi works given in the introduction to Dastûr Peshotanji's Pahlavi Grammar, pp. 18, 31, so that another MS. of the Pahlavi text probably exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay.

² Or, perhaps, 'man *and* wife;' as *gabrâ*, 'man,' is occasionally used for 'husband,' though *shûi* is the usual word, and *nêrman* means both 'woman' and 'wife.'

³ Written Khvêtvasdas or Khvêtûdas in the very old MS. of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, the text of which is followed in this translation. The phrases in brackets have no equivalents in the original Avesta text, and, therefore, merely represent the opinions of the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ *Spendarmad* apparently, as indicated by the sequel.

Khvêtûk-das]. And through fatherhood Vohûman¹ *was* cultivated by him, [that is, for the sake of the proper nurture of the creatures Khvêtûk-das *was* performed by him.] So she who is *his* daughter is acting well, [who is the fully-mindful] Spendarmad², [that is, she did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das.] *She*³ *was* not deceived, [that is, *she* did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das, because *she* is] an observer of everything [as regards that which is] Aûharmazd's, [that is, through the religion of Aûharmazd *she* attains to all duty and law.] The allusions to Khvêtûk-das in this passage are mere interpolations introduced by the Pahlavi translators, for the sake of recommending the practice; they have no existence in the Avesta text, but they show that the Pahlavi translators understood Khvêtûk-das to

¹ The Pahlavi translator seems here to understand Vohûman not as the archangel (see Dd. III, 13), but as a title ('good-minded') of the primeval man, Gâyômarđ, who is supposed to have been produced by Aûharmazd out of the earth (compare Gen. ii. 7), represented by the female archangel Spendarmad. The term vohumanô is used in Vend. XIX, 69, 76-84 for both a well-intentioned man and his clothing.

² The female archangel, a personification of the Avesta phrase *spenta ârmaiti*, 'bountiful devotion;' she has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24). She is called the daughter of Aûharmazd, even as the fire and Vohûman are called his sons, because devotion (representing the earth), fire, and good thought are considered to be his most important creations. And, as the earth is also, metaphorically, the mother of man, and the creator Aûharmazd is figuratively his father, this unfortunate combination of anthropomorphisms has induced later superstition to take these statements literally, and to quote them as a justification of marriage between father and daughter.

³ This seems the most probable nominative to the verbs in this sentence, but it is by no means certain.

refer to such relationship as that of father and daughter, as will appear more clearly from further allusions to the same circumstances in passages to be quoted hereafter¹. Regarding the age of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna we only know for certain that it existed in its present form a thousand years ago, because a passage is quoted from it by *Zâd-sparam*, brother of the author of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik* and *Epistles of Mânûsêihar*, in his *Selections*², and we know that he was living in A. D. 881³. But it was probably revised for the last time as early as the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A. D. 531-579), when the Pahlavi *Vendidâd* was also finally revised⁴.

The Pahlavi versions of the lost Nasks must have been nearly of the same age as those of the extant Avesta, but of the contents of these versions we possess only certain statements of later writers. According to some of the modern Persian statements the *Dûbâsrûged* Nask contained many details about Khvétûk-das, but this is contradicted by the long account of its contents given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*, which was written more than a thousand years ago⁵, and in which Khvétûk-das is not once noticed. The practice is, however, mentioned several times in the *Dînkard*, as an important good work noticed in the Nasks, but no details are given, except in the following passages from the ninth book:—

First, regarding the latter part of the eighteenth *fargard* of the *Varastmânsar* Nask:—‘And this, too,

¹ See pp. 396, 401, 416.

² See *Zs.* V, 4.

³ See *Ep.* III, 2, 17, 21.

⁴ See *Ep.* I, iv, 17, note.

⁵ This is proved by the long quotation from *Dk.* VI contained in *Dd.* XCIV, 1-11.

that thereupon they shall excite a brother *and* sister with mutual desire, so that they shall perform Khvétûk-das with unanimity, and before midday are generated a radiance which is sublime, centred in the face, and peeping glances (vênîkõ âlûs); and they make the radiance, *which* is openly manifest, grow up in altitude the height of three spears of a length of three reeds *each*¹; and after midday they have learned expulsion (rânakîh²), *and* shall renounce the fiend who is before the destroyer.' This is clearly an allusion to the Khvétûk-das of brother and sister, as it can hardly be considered as merely referring to the arrangement of marriages between their children.

Second, regarding the earlier part of the fourteenth fargard of the Bakô Nask:—'And this, too, that the performance of whatever would be a causer of procreation for the doers of actions is extolled *as* the perfect custom of the first Khvétûk-das; because causing the procreation of the doers of actions is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production of progeny, the proper production of progeny is the cultivation of progeny in one's own with the inclinations (khîmîhâ) of a first wish³, and the cultivation of progeny in one's own is Khvétûk-das. And he who extols the fatherhood of mankind, when *it is* a causer of the procreation of the doers of actions, has also extolled Khvétûk-das. And this, too, that the proper nurture for the creatures, by him whose wish is for

¹ A height of about 42 English feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5).

² That is, the capability of expelling the fiends that try to take possession of man.

³ Reading gâm (=kâm), but it may be dâm, 'creature.'

virtue, has taught *him* to perform Khvêtûk-da. Virtue is its virtue even for this reason, because, for the sake of maintaining a creature with propriety, he reckons upon the proper disposition of the multitude, that which is generated in the race of innumerable Khvêtûk-dases¹. And this, too, the Spendar^{mad} is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd by him whose wisdom *consists* in complete mindfulness. Even on this account, because wisdom *and* complete mindfulness² are within the limits of Aûharmazd and Spendar^{mad}; wisdom that which is Aûharmazd's, complete mindfulness is that which is Spendar^{mad}'s, and complete mindfulness is the progeny of wisdom, just as Spendar^{mad} is *of* Aûharmazd. And from this is expressed the announcement that, by him who *has* connected complete mindfulness with wisdom, Spendar^{mad} is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd. And this, too, the existence of the formation of the daughterhood, is taught by him whose righteousness *consists* in complete mindfulness.' This quotation merely shows that Khvêtûk-das referred to connections between near relations, but whether the subsequent allusions to the daughterhood of Spendar^{mad} had reference to the Khvêtûk-das of father and daughter is less certain than in the case of Pa. Yas. XLIV, 4, previously quoted³.

Third, regarding the middle of the twenty-five

¹ That is, the useful peculiarities of a particular breed of domestic animals are maintained and intensified by keeping up the purity of the race.

² 'Complete mindfulness' is the usual Pahlavi explanation of *ârmaiti*, 'devotion,' the latter component of the name Spendar^{mad}.

³ See pp. 392, 393.

fargard of the Bakô Nask :—‘ And this, too, that a daughter is given in marriage (nêsmânîh) to a father, even so as a woman to another man, by him who teaches the daughter and the other woman the reverence *due* unto father and husband.’ The reference here to the marriage of father and daughter is too clear to admit of mistake, though the term Khvêtûk-das is not mentioned.

Next in age to the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta we ought perhaps to place the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, because we are told (AV. I, 35), regarding Vîrâf, that ‘ there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikh-shahpûr,’ and this may have been the celebrated commentator of that name, who was a councillor of king Khûsrô Nôshirvân¹, so that we cannot safely assume that this book was written earlier than the end of the sixth century. It gives an account of heaven and hell, which Ardâ-Vîrâf is supposed to have visited during the period of a week, while he seemed to be in a trance. In the second grade of heaven, counting upwards, he found the souls of those who had ‘ performed no ceremonies, chanted no sacred hymns, and practised no Khvêtûk-das,’ but had come there ‘ through other good works ;’ and it may be noted that the two upper grades of heaven appear to have been reserved for good sovereigns, chieftains, high-priests, and others specially famous. In hell, also, he saw the soul of a woman suffering grievous punishment because she had ‘ violated Khvêtûk-das ;’ but this passage occurs in one MS. only. We are also told (AV. II, 1-3, 7-10) that ‘ Vîrâf had seven sisters, and all² those seven sisters

¹ See Ep. I, iv, 17.

² The word translated ‘ all ’ is the ordinary Huz. ko /â, equivalent

were as wives of Viráf; revelation, also, *was* easy to them, and the ritual had *been* performed . . . they stood up and bowed, and spoke thus: "Do not do this thing, ye *Mazda*-worshippers! for we are seven sisters, and he is an only brother, and we are, seven sisters, as wives¹ of that brother." The passage, supposing that it really refers to marriage, seems to attribute an exaggerated form of the Khvêrêtûk-das of brother and sister to Viráf, as a proof of his extraordinary sanctity; but it can hardly be considered as a literal statement of facts, any more than the supposed case of a woman having married seven brothers successively, mentioned in Mark xii. 20-22 and Luke xx. 29-32.

In another Pahlavi book of about the same age which is best known by its Pâzand name, *Mainyô Khard*², we find Khvêrêtûk-das placed second among

to Pers. *har*, but a Parsi critic has suggested that it ought to be read *kanîk*, 'virgin,' so as to get rid of the idea that the sisters were married to Viráf. This suggestion is ingenious, because the difference between *ko/â* and *kanîk* is very slight, when written in Pahlavi characters; but it is not very ingenuous, because the substitution of *kanîk* for *ko/â*, both here and in the similar phrase at the end of the passage quoted in our text, would render the sentence quite ungrammatical, as would be easily seen by any well-educated Parsi who would translate the phrases literally into modern Persian words, which would give him the following text: *ân har ha 'hvâharân Viráf kûn zan bûd* and for the first phrase, and *haft 'hvâhar ân birâdar zanî êm* for the second. To substitute any Persian word for 'virgin' in place of the pronoun *har*, in the two phrases, would evidently produce nonsense. The really doubtful point in these phrases is whether *zan* and *zanî* are to be understood as 'wife' and 'wifehood,' or merely as 'woman' and 'womankind,' but it would be unusual to use such terms for the unmarried female members of a family.

¹ Or 'the womankind.'

² From a facsimile of the only known MS. of the original Pahlavi

seven classes of good works (Mkh. IV, 4), and ninth among thirty-three classes of the same (Mkh. XXXVII, 12); and the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is mentioned as the fourth in point of heinousness among thirty classes of sin (Mkh. XXXVI, 7).

In the Bahman Yast, which may have existed in its original Pahlavi form before the Muhammadan conquest of Persia¹, it is stated that, even in the perplexing time of foreign conquest, the righteous man 'continues the religious practice of Khvêtûk-das in his family².'

The third book of the *Dînkard*, which appears to have been compiled by the last editor³ of that work, contains a long defence of the practice of Khvêtûk-das, forming its eighty-second⁴ chapter, which may be translated as follows:—

'On a grave attack (hû-girâyisnō) of a Jew upon

text of this work, recently published by Dr. Andreas, it appears that its Pahlavi name was Dînâ-î Mînavad-î Khard (or Mainôg-î Khird), 'the opinions of the spirit of wisdom.'

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. v, pp. liii-lvi.

² See Byt. II, 57, 61.

³ The name of this editor was Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, as appears from the last chapter (chap. 413) of the same book. He was a contemporary of the author of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* (see Bd. XXXIII, 11).

⁴ Chap. 80 in the recent edition of *Dastûr PeshotANJI Behramji*, because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. His translation of this chapter (see pp. 90-102 of the English translation of his edition) differs considerably from that given in our text. This difference may be partly owing to its being translated from the Gugarâti translation, and not direct from the original Pahlavi; but it is chiefly due to the inevitable result of attempting a free translation of difficult Pahlavi, without preparing a literal version in the first place. The translation here given is as literal as possible, but the Pahlavi text is too obscure to be yet understood with absolute certainty in some places.

a priest, which *was* owing to asking the reason of the custom (*âhankö*) as to *Khvêtûk-das*; and the reply of the priest to him from the exposition of the *Mazda-worshipping* religion.

'That is, as *one* complaining about wounds damage, *and* distress comes on, *it* is lawful to dispute with him in defence begirt with legal opinion (*dâd'istânö parvand*), and the consummation of the accusation of an innocent man is averted; *s* of the creatures, the invisible connection of their own power to fellow-creations *and* their own *race* through the propitiousness of the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, is a girdle *and* the consummation of the mutual assistance of men is *Khvêtûk-das*. The name is *Khvêtûk-das* which is *used* when *it* is "a giving of *one's* own' (*khvês-dahisnih*), and its office (*gâs*) is a strong connection with one's own *race and* fellow-creations through the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, which is, according to the treatises the union of males *and* females of mankind of one's own *race* in preparation for, and connection with the renovation of *the universe*. That union, for the sake of proceeding incalculably more correctly, is among the innumerable similar races of mankind that with near kinsfolk (*nabânazdistânö*), *and* among near kinsfolk, that with those next of kin (*nazd-padvandânö*); *and* the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest of kin (*nazd-padvandtar*)—which are father and daughter, son and she who bore *him*¹, and brother and sister—is the most complete (*avirtar*) that I have considered.

¹ Literally 'bearer' (*bûrdâr*), which is not the usual word for 'mother,' but equivalent to the Av. *baretar* that is used in that sense

'On the same subject the exposition of the obscure statements of the good religion, by a wise high-priest of the religion, is this:—"I assert that God (yêdatô) is the being, as regards the creatures, who created *any* of the creatures there are which are male, and *any* there are which are female; and that which is male is a son, and, similarly, a daughter is that which is female. The daughter of himself, the father of all, *was* Spendar¹, the earth, a female being of the creation; and from her he created the male Gâyô², which is explained *as* the name for him who *was* specially the first man, since it is Gâyô² living who is speaking *and* mortal, a limitation which *was* specially his, because of these three words—which are 'living, speaking, *and* mortal'—two of the limitations, which are 'living and speaking,' *were* through the provision of *his* father, the creator, and one, which is 'mortal,' *was* proceeding from the destroyer; the same limitation is upon all mankind, who are connected with that man's lineage, until the renovation of *the universe*. And now I say, if the aid of the father *has* produced a male from the daughter, it is named a Khvêtûk-das of father *and* daughter ³."

'This, too, is from the exposition of the religion, that the semen of Gâyô²—which is called seed—when he passed away, fell *to* Spendar⁴, the earth, which *was* his own mother; and, from its being united

¹ See p. 393, note 2.

² See Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 5.

³ It is uncertain whether the high-priest's statement continues beyond this point, or not.

⁴ See Bd. XV, 1, 2, Dd. LXIV, 6.

therewith, Mashya and Mashtyôit¹ were the son and daughter of Gâyômarâ and Spendarmad, and it is named the Khvêtûk-das of son and mother. As Mashya and Mashtyôit, as male and female, practise the quest of offspring, one with the other, and it is named the Khvêtûk-das of brother and sister. As many couples were begotten by them, and the couple became continually² wife and husband³; and all men who have been, are, and will be, are from original seed of Khvêtûk-das. And this is the reason which is essential for its fulfilment by law, that where contemplation (andâgîsnö) exists it is manifest from the increase of the people of all regions.

'And I assert that the demons are enemies of man, and a non-existence of desire for them consists in striving for it when Khvêtûk-das is practised then becomes their⁴ reminder of that original practice of contemplation which is the complete gratification of men, and has become his⁵ who is inimical to them. Grievous fear, distress, and anguish also come upon them, their power diminishes, and they less understand the purpose of causing the disturbance and ruin of men. And it is certain that making demons distressed, suffering, frightened, and weakened is thus a good work, and this way of having reward and of recompense is the property of practisers of such good works.

'And I assert that the goodness of appearance and growth of body, the display of wisdom, temp

¹ See Dd. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, where these names are spelt differently.

² Literally 'have become and have become.'

³ See Bd. XV, 22, 24-26.

⁴ The demons'.

⁵ Aûharmazd's.

and modesty, the excellence of skill *and* strength, and also the other qualities of children are so much *the more* as they are nearer to the original race of the begetter, and they shall receive *them* more perfectly *and* more gladly. An example is seen *in* those who *spring* from a religious woman who is gentle, believing the spiritual *existence*, acting modestly, of scanty strength, who is a forgiver and reverential, *and from* a mail-clad (gapar) warrior of worldly religion, who is large-bodied *and* possessing strength which is stimulating (âgâr) *his* stout heart while he begets. They¹ are not completely for war—which is a continuance of lamentation (nâs-ravandîh)—and not for carefulness and affection for the soul; as *from* the dog *and* wolf—and not the ruin (seg) of the sheep—arises the fox, like the wolf, *but* not *with* the strength of the wolf like the dog, and it does not even possess *its* perfect shape, nor that of the dog. And *they are* like those which are born from a swift Arab horse and a native dam, and are not galloping like the Arab, and not kicking (padâyak) like the native. And *they have* not even the same perfect characteristics², just as the mule that *springs* from the horse and the ass, which is not like unto either of them, and even *its* seed is cut off thereby, *and its* lineage is not propagated forwards.

‘And this is the advantage from the pure preservation of race. I assert that *there* are three³ species

¹ The offspring of such a match, which the apologist evidently considers an ill-assorted one, as tending to deteriorate the warlike qualities of the warrior's descendants, although he himself is no advocate for war.

² As their parents.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji has ‘four,’ because the Pahlavi text seems

(vâg) and kinds of affection of sister and brother for that which shall be born of them;—one is this, where *it is* the offspring of brother and brother; one is this, where the offspring is that of¹ brothers² and their sister; and one is this, where *it is* the offspring of sisters³. And *as to* the one of these where the offspring is that of⁴ a brother, and for the same reason *as applies to all* three⁵ species of them, the love, desire, and effort, which arise for the nurture of offspring of the three species, are *in* hope of benefit. And equally adapted are the offspring to the procreators; and this is the way of the increasing love of children, through the good nurture which is very hopeful.

‘And so, also, are those who are born of father and daughter, or son and mother. Light flashed forth (gastö) or unflashed (aparvâkhtö) is always seen at the time when *it is* much exposed, and pleased is *he* who has a child of *his* child, even when it is from some one of a different race and different

to speak of four species in the next sentence; here it seems to have ‘six’ in ciphers, but the first cipher can also be read aê, the conditional suffix to the verb which immediately precedes the ciphers in the Pahlavi text, and the second cipher is merely ‘three,’ which corresponds to the three possible kinds of first cousins that are about to be detailed in the text.

¹ Reading zak-î instead of zîs (which might be read zakî if there were such a word).

² Literally ‘brother.’

³ Literally ‘sister.’

⁴ Reading zak-î instead of zîs, as before. This is Dastû Peshotanji’s fourth species of cousinship, which he understands as meaning second cousins.

⁵ Reading î3, by dividing the Pahlavi cipher for ‘four’ into two parts, both here and near the end of the sentence. This paragraph can hardly be understood otherwise than referring to the present form of Khvêtûk-das, the marriage of first cousins.

country. That, too, *has* then become much delight (vâyag) *which* is expedient, that pleasure, sweetness, and joy which are owing to a son that a man begets from a daughter of his own, who is also a brother *of that* same mother; and he who is born of a son and mother is also a brother *of that* same father; this is a way of much pleasure, which is a blessing of the joy, *and* no harm is therein ordained that is more than the advantage, and no vice that is more than the well-doing (khûp gâr). And if it be said that it is of evil appearance, it should be observed that when¹ a wound occurs in the sexual part of a mother, or sister, or daughter, and she flees (fravêd) from a medical man, and there is no opportunity for him to apply a seton (palitö), and her father, or son, or brother is instructed in similar surgery, which is more evil *in* appearance, when they touch the part with the hand, and apply a seton, or *when a strange man does so?*

'And, when *it* is desirable to effect their union, which is the less remarkable (kam hû-zanâkhîktar) in evil appearance, when they are united (hamdvâdt-hênd) by them in secret, such as when the hearing of their written *contract* (nipistö) of wifehood and husbandhood² is accomplished in the *background* (dar pûstö), or when the sound of drums and trumpets acquaints the whole district, where

¹ Reading amat instead of mûn, 'who,' (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

² Showing that the practice advocated was understood to be a regular marriage (performed in private probably on account of the authorities being of a foreign faith) and not any kind of irregular intercourse. It is here approvingly contrasted with the noisy celebration of a marriage with a person of foreign faith, in accordance with foreign customs.

these people are renowned, that such an Arûman intends to effect such a purpose with the daughter sister, or mother of such a Pârsî man ?

'On this account of less evil appearance is even the good appearance which is to be mutually practised; and after the mode is seen, even the advantageousness in the accomplishment of the daily duty of concealing disgrace, the mutual desire, the mutual advantage and harm, and the contentment *which arise* as to whatever has happened are also mutual assistance. Some, with a husband and faint-heartedness, *have* a disposition (*sânö*) of incapability, and the diligence which is in their reverence of the husband, who is ruler of the family (*bûnag shah*) is *due* even to the supremacy which he would see over them through the severity of a husband. Very many others, too, who are strange women, are not content with a custom (*vag*) of this description; for they demand even ornaments to cover *and* clothe the bold *and* active *ones*, and slaves, dyes, perfumes, extensive preparations, and many other things of house-mistresses which are according to their desire, though *it* is not possible they should receive *them*. And, if *it* be not possible, they would not accept retrenchment; and, if they should not accept retrenchment, it hurries *on* brawling, abuse, and ugly words about this, and even uninterrupted falsehood (*avisistak-iê zâr*) is diffused as regards it of the secrets, moreover, *which* they conceal they preserve night and day a bad representation, and unobservantly. They shall take the bad *wife* t

¹ A native of Asia Minor, or any other part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

the house of *her* father and mother, the husband is dragged to the judges, *and* they shall form a district assembly (*shatrô angêzö*) about it. And lest he *should* speak thus: "I will release *her* from wifehood *with* me¹," vice and fraud of many kinds *and* the misery of deformity are the faults which are also secretly attributed to him.

'A wife of those three classes² is to be provided, since they would not do even one of *these* things³; on which account, even through advantageousness, virtuous living, precious abundance, dignity, and innocence, mutual labour is manifestly mighty *and* strong.

'And if it be said that, "with all this which you explain, there is also, afterwards, a depravity (*darvakh*) which is hideous," it should be understood in the mind that hideousness and beautifulness are specially those *things* which *do not exist* in themselves, but through some one's habit of taking *up* an opinion and belief. The hideous children of many are in the ideas of procreation exceedingly handsome, and the handsome forms of many are in the ideas of a housekeeper (*khânöpânö*) exceedingly ugly. We consider him also as *one* of our enemies when any one walks naked in the country, *which* you consider hideous; *but* the naked skins of

¹ That is, lest he should pronounce her divorce.

² The three nearest degrees of relationship must be meant, as the sequel admits the possibility of the union being considered objectionable; otherwise, the three kinds of first cousins might be understood.

³ As a special pleader for marriage between near relations the apologist feels himself bound to argue that all bad wives must have been strangers to the family before marriage.

the country call *him* handsome whose garments which seem to them hideous, have fallen off. And we are *they* in whose ideas a nose level with the face is ugly, *but they* who account a prominent nose ugly and say it is a walling *that* reaches between the two eyes, remain selecting a handsome *one*¹. And concerning handsomeness and ugliness in themselves which are only through *having* taken up an opinion and belief, *there* is a change even through time and place; for *any* one of the ancients whose head was shaved *was* as *it were* ugly, and it was so settled by law that *it was* a sin worthy of death for them then its habits (*sânö*) did not direct the customs of the country to shave the head of a man, *but* now there is a sage who has considered *it* as handsome *and* even a good work. Whoever is not clear that *it* is hideous is to think, about something threatening (*girâi*), that *it* is even so not in itself, but through *what is* taken into themselves they consider that *it* is hideous.

'Then for us the good work of that thing³, which *it* is cognizable that it is so ordained by the creator, has *its* recompense; it is the protector of the race, *and* the family is more perfect; *its* nature

¹ That is, those who admire flat noses select their beauties accordingly. Beauty being merely a matter of taste, which varies with the whim of the individual and the fashion of the period.

² This law was evidently becoming obsolete at the time the apologist was writing, and is now wholly forgotten. All Parsi laymen have their heads shaved at the present time, although priests merely have their hair closely cut. This change of custom in a matter settled by religious law, should warn the Parsis to deny the possibility of other complete alterations having taken place in their religious customs.

³ Khvétûk-das.

is without vexation (*apîzâr*) and gathering affection, an advantage to the child—the lineage *being* exalted—gathering (*avarêûn*) hope, offspring, and pleasure *it* is sweetness *to* the procreator, and the joy is most complete; less is the harm *and* more the advantage, little the pretence and much the skill of the graceful blandishments (*nâzânö*) which are apparent, aiding and procuring assistance (*bangîsnö*), averting disaster, and conducting affairs; less is the fear, through itself is itself illustrious, and the steadfast shall abandon crime (*kam*). And all our fathers and grandfathers, by whom the same practice *was* lawfully cherished, maintained *it* handsomely in *their* homes; and to think of mankind only as regards some assistance is the enlightenment of the steadfast, a reason which is exhibiting the evidence of wisdom, that no practice of it¹ is not expedient.

‘And if it be said that the law² *has* afterwards commanded as regards that *custom* thus: “Ye shall not practise *it!*” every one who is cognizant of that command is to consider *it* current; *but* we are not cognizant of that command, and *by* an intelligent *person* (*khapârvâarakö*) this should also be seen minutely, through correct observation, that all the knowledge of men has arisen from Khvétûk-das. For knowledge is generated by the union of instinctive wisdom and acquired wisdom³; instinctive wisdom is the female, *and* acquired wisdom the male; and on this account, since both are an achievement by the creator, they are sister and brother. And

¹ Khvétûk-das.

² Perhaps the law of the foreign conquerors is meant.

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 35, XL, 3.

also of everything worldly the existence, maturing *and* arrangement are due to union in proportion water, which is female, and fire, which is male are accounted sister *and* brother in combination and they seem as *though one* restrains *them* from Khvétûk-das, unless, through being dissipated *them* selves², seed—which is progeny—arises therefrom *and* owing to a mutual proportionableness of water and fire is the power in the brain, for if the water be more it rots *it* away, *and* if the fire be more it burns *it* away.'

This elaborate defence of Khvétûk-das shows clearly that, at the time it was written (about a thousand years ago), that custom was understood to include actual marriages between the nearest relatives, although those between first cousins appear to be also referred to.

In the 195th³ chapter of the third book of the *Dinkard* we are told that the eighth of the ten admonitions, delivered to mankind by Zaratûst, was this:—'For the sake of much terrifying of the demons, and much lodgment of the blessing of the holy⁴ in one's body, Khvétûk-das is to be practised. And the following chapter informs us, that 'oppose to that admonition of the righteous Zaratûst, of practising Khvétûk-das for the sake of much terrifying

¹ See Dd. XCIII, 13 n.

² Into the forms of moisture and warmth in the body. Water and fire in their ordinary state being incapable of combination.

³ This will be the 193rd chapter in Dastûr Peshotanji's edition because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. A similar difference will be found in the numbering of other chapters of the third book of the *Dinkard*.

⁴ The technical name of Yas. LIX.

of the demons from the body of man, and the lodgment of the blessing of the holy in the body, the wicked wizard Akhtö¹, the enemy of the good *man* on account of the perplexing living which *would arise* from his practising Khvêtûk-das, preferred not practising Khvêtûk-das.'

The practice is also mentioned in the 287th chapter of the same book, in the following passage:—'The welfare of the aggregate of one's own limb-formations—those which *exist* through no labour of one's own, *and* have not come to the aid of those not possessing *them* (*anafsmanân*) owing to their own want of gratitude—even *one* of a previous formation *has* to eulogize suitably; *and* this which *has* come, completely establishing (*spôr-nih*) the Avesta, *one* calls equally splendid, by the most modestly comprehensive appellation of Khvêtûk-das.'

In the sixth book of the *Dînkard*, which professes to be a summary of the opinions of those of the primitive faith², we are told that, 'when the good work of Khvêtûk-das shall diminish, darkness will increase and light will diminish.'

In the seventh book of the *Dînkard*, which relates the marvels of the Mazda-worshipping religion, we are informed that it was 'recounted how—Gâyô-mard³ *having* passed *away*—*it was* declared secondly, as regards worldly *beings*, to Masyê and Masyâôê⁴, the first progeny of Gâyô-mard, by the word of Aûharmazd—that is, he spoke to them when they

¹ Av. Akhtya of Âbân Yt. 82, who propounded ninety-nine enigmas to Yôistô of the Fryâns (see Dd. XC, 3).

² See Dd. XCIV, 1 n.

³ The sole-created man (see Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82).

⁴ See p. 402, note 1.

were produced by him—thus: “You are the me produce, you are the parents of all bodily life, so you men shall not worship the demons, for possession of complete mindfulness¹ *has been* perfectly supplied to you by me, so that you *may* full-mindfully observe duty and decrees.” And creativeness of Aûharmazd *was* extolled by them and they advanced in diligence; they also performed the will of the creator, *they* carved (parkâvini advantage *out of* the many duties of the world, practised Khvêtûk-das through procreation and union and complete progress of the creations in world, which are the best good works of mankind.

The following passage also occurs in the same book:—“Then Zaratûst, on becoming exalted, came out unto the material world of righteousness to enlighten righteousness and downcast are the demons; and “homage *being* the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, ceremonial and praise of the archangels are the best for you, I assert; and, *as to* deprecation (ayazist) of the demons, Khvêtûk-das is even the best intention, so that, from the information which is given *to* the trustworthiness of a good work, the greatest is the most intimate of them, *those of* father and daughter, son and she who bore *him*², and brother and sister.” *It is* declared that, upon those words innumerable demon-worshipping Kiks and Karas disputed (sâristdö) with Zaratûst and strove for death, just like this which revelation states:—“Then the multitude clamoured (mar barâ vir) who are in the vicinity of the seat of Tûr, the v

¹ See p. 396, note 2.

² See p. 400, note 1.

³ See p. 384, note 1.

afflicting¹ holder of decision; and the shame of the brother of Tûr arose, like *that of* a man whose shame *was* that they spoke of his Khvêtûk-das so that he might perform it. This Tûr *was* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang², the little-giving, *who* was like a great sovereign of that quarter; and he maintained many troops and *much* power. And the multitude told him they would seize the great *one* from him who is little³. *But* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang, the little-giving *and* well-afflicting, *spoke* thus:—‘*Should* I thereupon smite him, this great *one* who mingles together those propitious words for us—where we are thus without doubt *as to* one thing therein, such as Khvêtûk-das, that it is not necessary to perform *it*—it would make us ever doubtful that it *might* be necessary to perform it.’ . . . And Zaratûst spoke to him thus: ‘I am not always that reserved speaker, by whom that I *have* mentioned is the most propitious *thing* to be obtained; and inward speaking and managing the temper are a Khvêtûk-das⁴, and the high-priest *who has* performed *it* is to perform the ceremonial.’”’ This passage attributes to Zaratûst himself the enforcement of next-of-kin marriage, but it is hardly necessary to point out that the *Dinkard* only records a tradition to that effect; which

¹ The word *hû-nôsakö* is the Pahlavi equivalent of Av. *hû-nustâ* (Yas. L, 10, b), but the meaning of both words is uncertain. This Tûr seems to have been more friendly to Zaratûst than the Tûrânians were in general, but he appears not to be mentioned in the extant Avesta.

² As this epithet has not been found in the extant Avesta, the reading is uncertain.

³ Meaning that they demanded possession of Zaratûst in an insolent manner.

⁴ In a figurative sense.

record may be quoted as evidence of the former existence of such a tradition, but not as testimony for its truth. It is also worthy of notice that the tradition clearly shows that such marriages were distasteful to the people in general; but this might naturally be inferred from the efforts made by religious writers to assert the extraordinary merit of Khvétûk-das, because customs which are popular and universal require no such special recommendation from the priesthood.

In the *Dâdîstân-î Dînk* (XXXVII, 82, LXIV, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, 5) allusions are made to the Khvétûdâd¹ of brother and sister, formed by the progenitors of mankind. We are also told that Khvétûdâd is to be practised till the end of the world and that to occasion it among others is an effectual atonement for heinous sin² (*Dd.* LXXVII, 6, LXXVIII, 19); but it is not certain that the term is applied in these latter passages to marriages between the *nearest* relatives.

For later particulars about Khvétûk-das we have to descend to the darkest ages of Mazda-worship, those in which the Rivâyats, or records of religious legends, customs, and decisions, began to be compiled. Of the earlier Rivâyats, such as the *Shâya Lâ-shâyast* and *Vigîrkar-d-î Dînk*, which were written in Pahlavi, few remain extant; but the later ones, written in Persian, are more numerous and very voluminous.

A Pahlavi Rivâyat, which precedes the *Dâdîstân Dînk* in many MSS. of that work, devotes several

¹ Another form of the word Khvétûk-das (see p. 390).

² This is also stated in *Sls.* VIII, 18.

pages to the subject of *Khvêtûdâd*, which fully confirm the statements of the defender of the practice, quoted above from the *Dînkard* (III, lxxxii). The age of this Pahlavi Rivâyat is quite uncertain; it is found in MSS. written in the sixteenth century, but, as it does not mention the marriage of first cousins, it was probably compiled at a much earlier period, more especially as it is written in fairly grammatical Pahlavi. The following extracts will be sufficient to show how far it confirms the statements of the *Dînkard*:—

‘Of the good works of an infidel this is the greatest, when he comes out from the habit of infidelity into the good religion; and of *one* of the good religion, remaining backward (*akhar-mân*) *at the time* when his ritual is performed, this is a great good work, when he performs a *Khvêtûdâd*; for through that *Khvêtûdâd*, which is so valuable a token of *Mazda*-worship, is the destruction of demons. And of *Aûharmazd* it is declared, as regards the performance of *Khvêtûdâd*, that, when *Zaratûst* sat before *Aûharmazd*¹, and *Vohûman*, *Ardavahist*, *Shatvairô*, *Horvada*, *Amerôdad*, and *Spendarmad*² sat around *Aûharmazd*, and *Spendarmad* sat by his side, she had also laid a hand on his neck, and *Zaratûst* asked *Aûharmazd* about it thus: “Who is this *that* sits beside thee, and thou wouldst be such a friend to her, and she also would be such a friend to thee? Thou, who art *Aûharmazd*, turnest not *thy* eyes away from her, and she turns not away

¹ As he is said to have done in heaven, when receiving instruction in the religion.

² The archangels (see Dd. XLVIII, 1 n), of whom *Spendarmad* is said to be a female (see p. 393, note 2).

from thee; thou, who art *Aûharmazd*, dost not release her from *thy* hand, and she does not release thee from *her* hand¹." And *Aûharmazd* said: "This is *Spendarmad*, who is my daughter, the house-mistress of my heaven, and mother of the creatures²." Zaratûst spoke thus: "When they say, in the world, this is a very perplexing thing, how is it proclaimed by thee—thee who art *Aûharmazd*—for thee *thyself*?" *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: "O Zaratûst! this should have become the best-enjoyed thing of mankind. When, since my original creation *Mâharyâ* and *Mâharyâôih*³ had performed it, you also, should have performed it; because although mankind *have* turned away from that thing⁴, yet they should not have turned away. Just as *Mâharyâ* and *Mâharyâôih* had performed *Khvêtûdâc*, mankind should have performed it, and all mankind would have known their own lineage and race, and a brother would never be deserted by the affection of his brother, nor a sister by that of her sister. For all nothingness, emptiness⁵, and drought *have* come unto mankind from the deadly *one* (*mar*), when men have come to them from a different country, from a different town, or from a different district, and *have* married their women; and when they shall have carried away their women, and they have

¹ This legend is an instance of the close proximity of superstition to profanity, among uneducated and imaginative people.

² She being a representative of the earth.

³ See p. 402, note 1.

⁴ That is, from marriage of the nearest relations, which is admitted, throughout these extracts, to be distasteful to the people hence the vehemence with which it is advocated.

⁵ Literally 'air-stuffing' (*vâê-âkînh*).

wailed together about this, thus: 'They will always carry our daughters into perversion¹.'

'This, too, *is said*, that Khvêtûdâd is so miraculous that *it* is the preservation of the most grievous sin—such as witchcraft and *that* worthy of death—from hell. And the want of protection (*avîpâharth*) from hell *of one* unprotected from Aharman and the demons arises at that time when, owing to what *occurs* when *he* is begged by *some* one to exercise witchcraft, *he* is made worthy of death. And when they shall perform Khvêtûdâd, when the Khvêtûdâd is owing to him², the unprotected *one* is preserved from the prison of hell, *from* Aharman and the demons; so miraculous is Khvêtûdâd.

'In a passage *it* is declared, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "These are the best four things: the ceremonial worship of Aûharmazd, the lord; presenting firewood, incense, and holy-water to the fire; propitiating a righteous man³; and *one* who performs Khvêtûdâd with her who bore *him*, or a daughter, or with a sister. And of all those he is the greatest, best, and most perfect who shall perform Khvêtûdâd. . . . When Sôshâns comes⁴ all mankind *will* perform Khvêtûdâd, and every fiend will perish through the miracle and power of Khvêtûdâd.'

It is then explained why the several merits of the

¹ This fear of perversion to another faith was, no doubt, the real cause of the vehement advocacy of family marriages by the priesthood.

² That is, when he has arranged the next-of-kin marriage of others, before his death.

³ That is, a priest.

⁴ Shortly before the resurrection (see Dd. II, 10).

three classes of Khvétûdâd are considered to stand in the same order as that in which the classes are mentioned in the preceding paragraph; also that the third class includes the case of half brothers and sisters, and the second that of an illegitimate daughter. After this we find the following legend:

'And Khvétûdâd is so miraculous, that *it* is declared, regarding Yim¹, that, when the glory of sovereignty had departed from him, he went out to the precincts (var) of the ocean with Yimak, his sister, *in order* to flee from the people, demons, and witches of the assembly of Dahâk². And *they were sought* by them in hell and not seen; and others sought them among mankind, water, earth, and cattle, among trees, in the mountains, and in the towns, *but they were* not seen by them. Then Aharman shouted thus: "I think thus, that Yim is travelling in the precincts of the ocean." And a demon and a witch, *who* stood among *them*, spoke thus: "We *will* go and seek Yim." And they rushed *off and* went; and when they came upon those precincts where Yim was—the precincts *where* the water of Tîr³ was—Yim spoke thus: "Who a

¹ The third sovereign of the world, after Gâyômarâd (see Dd. 10). This legend is also mentioned in Bd. XXIII, 1, as explaining the origin of the ape and bear.

² The foreign king, or dynasty, that conquered Yim (see D. XXXVII, 97 n).

³ Evidently intended for Tîstar, a personification of the star Sirius, who is supposed to bring the rain from the ocean (see D. XCIII, 1-17). Strictly speaking Tîr is the planet Mercury, the opponent of Tîstar, whose name is given to the fourth month, and the thirteenth day of the month, in the Parsî year (see Bd. V, 1, VII, XXVII, 24); but the confusion between the two names is not uncommon in the later books (comp. Sls. XXII, 13 with XXIII,

you?" And they spoke thus: "We are those who are just like thee, who had to flee from the hands of the demons; we, too, have fled away from the demons, and we are alone. Do thou give this sister in marriage to me, while I also give this *one* unto thee!" And Yim, therefore, when the demons were not recognised by him from mankind, made the witch his own wife, and gave his sister unto the demon *as* wife. From Yim and that witch were born the bear, the ape, Gandarep¹, and Gôsûbar²; and from Yimak and that demon were born the tortoise (*gasaf*), the cat, the hawk (*gaving*), the frog, the weevil (*dîvakõ*), and also as many more noxious creatures, until Yimak saw that that demon was evil, and it was necessary to demand a divorce (*zan-takâ*) from him. And one day, when Yim and that demon had become drunk with wine, she exchanged her own position and clothing with those of the witch; and when Yim came he was drunk, and unwittingly lay with Yimak, who was his sister, and they came to a decision *as to* the good work of Khvêtûdâd; many demons were quite crushed and died, and they rushed away at once, and fell back to hell.'

The fact, that the zealous writer felt that he had to force his opinions upon an unwilling people, is betrayed by the exaggerated language he uses in the following statements:—

'This, too, is declared by the Avesta, that Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "Many thoughts, many words, and many deeds are mentioned by

¹ See p. 371, note 3.

² Not identified, and the reading is, therefore, uncertain.

thee—thee who art Aûharmazd—that it is necessary to think, speak, and do; of all *such* thoughts, words, and deeds which is the best, when *one* shall think, speak, or do it?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Many thoughts, many words, and many deeds should be proclaimed by me, O Zaratûst! *but*, of those thoughts, words, and deeds which it is necessary to think, speak, and do, that which is best and most perfect *one* performs by Khvêtûdâd. For *it* is declared that the first time when he goes near to it, a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wizards and witches; when he goes near to it twice, two thousand demons will die, and four thousand wizards and witches; when he goes near to it three times, three thousand demons will die, and six thousand wizards and witches; and when he goes near to it four times *it* is known that the man and woman become righteous¹."

' Owing to the performance of Khvêtûdâd there arises a destruction of demons equivalent to the stoppage of creation; and though, afterwards, some of those men and women shall become wizards and witches, and unlawfully slaughter a thousand sheep and beasts, *burden* at one time, or shall present holy-water to the demons, yet, on account of that destruction and vexation of the demons, which has occurred to them, owing to the Khvêtûdâd, it does not become comfortable to them while completed; and *it* is believed by them that "the souls of those people will come to us."

' Whoever keeps one year in a marriage of Khvêtûdâd

¹ Or, as stated in the Appendix to the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast (XVIII, 4), they 'will not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

tûdâd becomes just as though one-third of all this world, with the water, with the trees, and with the corn, had been given by him, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. When he keeps two years in the marriage *it* is as though two-thirds of this world, with the water, trees, *and* corn, had been given by him unto a righteous man. When he keeps three years in the marriage *it* is as though all this world, with the water, with the trees, *and* with everything, had been given *by him*, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. *And* when he keeps four years in his marriage, and his ritual¹ is performed, *it* is known *that his* soul thereby goes unto the supreme heaven (garôdmân); *and* when *the ritual is not performed*, it goes thereby to *the ordinary* heaven (vahistô).

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "*As to the man who practises Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual is performed, and he also offers a ceremonial (yazisnô-aê), is the good work of it such as if one without Khvêtûdâd had offered it, or which way is it?*" Aûharmazd said: "*It is just as though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd had offered it.*"

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "How is the benediction (âfrînô) which a man who *practises* Khvêtûdâd shall offer?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "As though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd *should* offer the benediction."

'And this, too, *was* asked by him, that is: "*As to them who render assistance, and one meditates and attains to Khvêtûdâd through them, and one*

¹ The proper ceremonies after his death, or for his living soul during his lifetime (see Dd. XXVIII, LXXXI).

performs Khvêtûdâd on account of their statements how is *their* good work?" Aûharmazd spoke thus "Like *his* who keeps in food and clothing, *for* on winter, a hundred priests—each of which priests has a hundred disciples—*such* is his good work."

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "As to them who keep a man back *from* performing Khvêtûdâd, and owing to their statement he shall not perform Khvêtûdâd, what is their sin? Aûharmazd spoke¹ thus: "Their place is hell."

'In a passage *it* is declared that, wiser than the wise, and more virtuous than the virtuous is *he* in whose thoughts, words, and deeds the demons are less predominant; and Aharman and the demon are less predominant in the body of him who *practises* Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual² is performed.

'It is declared by revelation that *at* the time when Zaratûst came out from the presence of Aûharmazd the lord, into a worldly place where he travelled, he spoke this, that is: "Extol the religion! and you should perform Khvêtûdâd. I speak of the good and those existing *in* the religion; *as to* the negligent, the vile, and those in perplexity, this is said that a thing so wondrous and important *as that* which is in our law of Khvêtûdâd could not be for performance. This is a sublime (*kîrag*) custom and, as the best of all things, *one* asserts that it is necessary to perform it. To me, also, this is manifest when, through all faith *in* the law of those existing *in* the religion³, that which is called b

¹ The Pahlavi text is imperfect.

² See p. 421, note 1.

³ That is, the general law of Mazda-worship, as distinguished from what he is advocating as a peculiarly religious law sanctioned

them a very heinous sin, through faith *in* this law of the good, is that which is called the most perfect *and* best good work of Mazda-worship."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "You should cause the performance of duties *and* good works." And Zaratûst spoke thus: "Which duty *and* good work *shall* I do first?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Khvêtûdâd; because that duty *and* good work is to be performed in the foremost place of all, for, in the end, it happens through Khvêtûdâd, when all who are in the world attain unto the religion¹."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Zaratûst spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "In my eyes *it* is an evil (*va dõ*) which is performed, and *it is* perplexing that I *should* make Khvêtûdâd as *it were* fully current among mankind." Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In my eyes, also, *it* is just as *in* thine; but for this reason—when out of everything perfect *there is some* miserable evil² for thee—it should not seem *so*. Do thou be diligent in performing Khvêtûdâd, and others, also, will perform *it* diligently."

The unpopularity of the practice advocated could hardly be more fully admitted than in this last paragraph, nor the objection more irrationally and dogmatically disposed of. As for the numerous quotations, which the compiler of this Pahlavi Rivâyat

by the priests ('the good'). This is evidently an admission that the practice advocated was contrary to the ordinary laws of Mazda-worship itself.

¹ As Pahlavi writers expect them to do before the resurrection.

² Reading *va dõ-î vêsht*; but it may be '*something* is difficult and hard' (*tang va sakht*).

professes to take from the Parsi scriptures, it is hardly necessary to remark that their authenticity must be accepted with great reserve.

Persian Rivâyats, copied in the seventeenth century, advocate the marriage of first cousins, and allude vaguely to those between nearer relatives a long extinct, though most of their remarks merely recommend the performance of Khêdyôdath¹, without explaining the meaning of the term. Thus, we are informed that a person worthy of death can perform Khêdyôdath as a good work, but it is better if followed by the Bareshnûm ceremony². An unclean person can do the same, but the Bareshnûm should precede the performance, so as to avoid sin arising from the uncleanness. The performance also destroys demons, wizards, and witches; and if arranged by any one, at his own expense, for another person, it is as meritorious as if performed by himself. But the following quotations are more descriptive of the practice³:—

‘Again, whereas the great wisdom of the king and of the assembly of priests fully understands that the ceremony of all the religious rites⁴ is a great good work, besides that which is called Khêdyôdath, yet in these days, both have fallen out of *their* hands but they will make an endeavour, so that they may form connection with their own, and on account of

¹ The Persian form of the word Khvêtûk-das. It is also written Khetyôdath in some passages, and Khêtvadat in others.

² The great ceremony of purification (see App. IV).

³ The Persian Rivâyat from which all this information has been extracted is M10 (fol. 50 a).

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 2 n.

the Musulmâns the connection is a medium *one*¹, better than that of an infidel. And Ormazd has said that *by* as much as the connection is nearer *it is* more of a good work; and they display *their* endeavour and effort, and give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother *to* each other. And just as this *is said*: "I establish the *performer of Khêdyôdath*, I establish the patrol of the country²," even on this account they certainly display an endeavour.

'Query:—"How are the connections that relations form?" Reply:—"A brother's children with a brother's children and a sister's children, and relations with one another form connections, *and* it is proper for them."

'Khêdyôdath is *that* which is a great good work, and has fallen out of their hands, owing to the reason that there is no king of the good religion; and if it be so they will make an endeavour, and will form connections with their own, and will give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother to each other, and if not it is not proper; and every such connection as is nearer is more of a good work. And the mode they will act who are at first without a king will be an infidel *one*, and to form connections among themselves will be very difficult now he (the king) is a Musulmân, *but* that which is nearer is better and more of a good work.'

¹ This seems to be an allusion to some interference of the Muhammadan government with marriages of those next of kin. A similar allusion occurs in the next paragraph but one, which, with most of this paragraph, is also found in M7, fols. 229b, 230a.

² This Avesta quotation, from Visp. III, 18, 19, is as follows:—'hvaêtvadathem âstâya, danhâurvaêsem âstâya;' and the meaning of the last term is uncertain.

These quotations indicate that a great change has crept over the meaning of Khvétûk-das since the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat, previously quoted although a tradition of the old meaning still lingers in the minds of the writers. The modern meaning is, however, most completely explained in a passage appended to a Persian version of Aêshm's complaint to Aharman, regarding the difficulty of destroying the effect of the season-festivals, the sacred feasts and Khvétûk-das (Sls. XVIII). After Aharman has confessed his inability to suggest a means of destroying the merit of the last, the Persian writer adds the following particulars:—

'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief Khêtvadat is that of a sister's daughter and a brother's son; a medium Khêtvadat is that of a brother's son and a younger brother's daughter, and inferior to a medium Khêtvadat is that of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person, who performs Khêtvadat, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary¹; if it be *one* of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added: if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the connection of Khêtvadat of the next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanêpûhars²; if any one strives to break off the connection of Khêtvadat he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Dd. XX, 3.

² See Dd. LXXVIII, 13. Geldner in his *Studien zum Avesta* I, pp. 3-12, suggests that the original meaning of Av. tanuperetha and peshôtanu was 'outcast;' but, although these words are translated by Pahl. tanâpûhar, it is doubtful whether this la

With this quotation, which occurs in a MS.¹ written A.D. 1723, we may conclude our examination of all passages in the Parsi scriptures referring to Khvétûk-das, the result of which may be summarized as follows:—

First, the term does not occur at all in the oldest part of the Avesta, and when it is mentioned in the later portion it is noticed merely as a good work which is highly meritorious, without any allusion to its nature; only one passage (Vend. VIII, 36) indicating that both men and women can participate in it. So far, therefore, as can be ascertained from the extant fragments of the Avesta—the only internal authority regarding the ancient practices of Mazda-worship—the Parsis are perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next of kin, provided they choose to ignore the statements of foreigners, as based upon imperfect information.

Second, when we descend to the Pahlavi translations and writings of the better class, which, in their present form, probably range from the sixth to the ninth century, we find many allusions to Khvétûk-das between those next of kin, and only one obscure reference to the marriage of first cousins². Marriages between the nearest relations are defended chiefly by reference to mythical and metaphorical

word be a mere transcript of *tanuperetha* (which ought to have been *tanûpûhar*), or whether it expresses the different idea of *tan-apûhar*, 'a person without a bridge to heaven,' which might have been that adopted by the Pahlavi translators of the *Vendidâd*; an outcast in this world being very liable to be considered as an outcast from the next.

¹ M5, fols. 54, 55.

² In Dk. III, lxxxii (see p. 404).

statements regarding the creation, and to the practice of the progenitors of mankind; they are also advocated with all the warmth and vehemence that usually indicate much difficulty in convincing the laity, and this zealous vehemence increases as we descend to the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyats, the compilation of which may perhaps be attributed to some writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Unless, therefore, the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the Pahlavi Yasna, the book of *Arâ-Virâf*, the *Dinkard*, and the *Dâdistân-i Dînik*, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests, in the later years of the Sasanian dynasty and for some centuries subsequently, strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though, probably with little success. That a practice now reprobated by all Parsis should have been formerly advocated by their priests, as a religious duty, need not excite the surprise of those who consider how slavery has been advocated by many Christians, on scriptural grounds, within the present generation, and how the execution of supposed witches was similarly advocated a few generations ago.

Third, as we come to the modern writings of the Persian Rivâyats, which may have commenced about the fifteenth century, we find the present form of *Khvétûk-das*, the marriage of first cousins (which was only slightly mentioned in the *Dinkard* of the ninth century), the only form in use; though obscure allusions are made to the other forms as being long extinct.

¹ See pp. 415-423.

At whatever period the practice of next-of-kin marriage may have originated there were evidently two reasons for its establishment and continuance; one was the indispensable necessity of offspring¹, unfettered by duties towards any other family, for the purpose of maintaining the necessary periodical ceremonies for the souls of those passed away; the other was the wish of preventing any risk of religious perversion consequent upon marrying into a family of strangers or infidels. Both of these reasons must have become intensified as the *Mazda*-worshippers diminished in numbers, hence the increasing vehemence of priestly advocacy, until the foreign conquerors probably interfered, and put a stop to the practice.

That such marriages were not unusual among other races, in ancient times, we learn from many tales in Greek and Roman mythology, from the usual practice of the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and even from the laws prohibiting such connections in Lev. xviii. 6-16, which, as laws are not made to prohibit practices that do not exist, would hardly have been written unless the children of Israel had at one time adopted the custom to some slight extent. That Parsis now deny the existence of such marriages among their ancestors proves that they no longer approve the custom, but does not affect the historical evidence of its former

¹ The oriental feeling of such a necessity, for the mere purpose of perpetuating the family, is abundantly manifested in the story of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 30-38), which is related without reprobation by its writer. Also by the exceptional law requiring a man to marry his brother's wife, when the brother has died childless (Deut. xxv. 5-10).

existence. Christians no longer approve the persecution and execution of women for the imaginary crime of witchcraft, but it would be both child and useless for them to deny that their ancestors committed hundreds of such judicial murders more than two centuries ago.

IV. THE BARESHNŪM CEREMONY.

THE great ceremony of purification for any Parsi man or woman who has become unclean by contact with the dead, or through any other serious defilement, lasts for nine nights, and is called the *Bareshnŭm*, which is the Avesta name for the 'top' of the head, the first part of the body appointed to be washed in the ceremony, after the hands. The description of this ceremony, given in Pahl. Vend. IX, 1-145, which does not differ very materially from the rite still in use, is as follows¹:—

Pahl. Vend. IX, 1. Zaratŭst enquired of *Aŭharmazd* thus: 'O *Aŭharmazd*, propitious spirit! creator of the material world! who art the righteous *one* [of righteousness!]' that is, *Aŭharmazd* is the righteous creator through invocation, *and* the rest through praise]. 2. 'How, when in the material existence they see a [clean] man together with [that which is polluted], (3) how shall they purify him clean who

¹ Observing that the passages in brackets do not occur in the Avesta text, but are added by the Pahlavi translators; and that the sections are numbered to correspond with the alternating Avesta and Pahlavi sections in the MSS., which is the division adopted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. The readings adopted are those of L4, wherever they are not defective; this MS. was written about A. D. 1324, and differs occasionally from Spiegel's printed text; it begins the ninth *fargard* with the following heading:—'May it be fortunate! may it destroy the corruption (*nasŭs*) which rushes on from a dead dog and men on to the living! May the pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers be triumphant!'

is with *that* fraught with corruption [together with pollution] owing to that dead body? [that is, how should they make *him* thoroughly clean?]

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'A righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spítamân! [a purifier], (5) who is a speaker [that is, it is possible for him to speak], a true-speaker [that is, falsehood is little spoken by him], an enquirer of the liturgy [that is, the rite is performed by him], and righteous, (6) he who specially understands the purification of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers [that is, he knows the rite] (7) such a one shall cut up the plants on the fruitful earth, (8) *for* a length of nine separate reeds¹ in every one of the four directions, (9) *at a place* on this earth which is most devoid of water, most devoid of trees, land most purified [from bodily refuse]², and with the driest ground [that is, there is no damp in that extent of it]. 10. Even *where* least upon the paths do cattle and beasts of burden step forth, and the fire of Aûharmazd, the sacred twigs³ spread forth with righteousness, and the righteous man⁴ *do least exist*.'

11. 'Creator of the material world! *thou* righteous *one*! how far from the fire? how far from the water? how far from the sacred twigs spread forth

¹ Which would be 42 feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n); but the phrase *gvîd nâî* (which, in Pahl.Vend.VII, 90, has become *gvîd hanâ* by misreading *gvîdō-aê*, and then substituting Huz. *hanâ* for Pâ. *aê*) is merely an attempted translation of Av. *vîbâzu*, which latter appears to mean the 'two arms' outstretched, or a fathom. So the 'separate reed' should be understood as a longer kind of reed equal to a fathom, instead of 4 feet 8 inches.

² See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n. L₄ omits this clause altogether.

³ See Dd. XLIII, 5 n.

⁴ Any priest not engaged in the purification.

with righteousness? how far from a man of the righteous?’

12. And *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: ‘Thirty steps¹ from the fire, thirty steps from the water, thirty steps from the sacred twigs spread forth with righteousness, and three steps² from the men of the righteous.

13. The cutting out for the first hole [for bull’s urine]³, after the coming on of summer, is two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught (*sôngagân-hômand*) winter *it* is as *it were* a cup of four finger-breadths⁴. 14. So also for the second hole, for the third hole, for the fourth hole, the fifth, and the sixth.’

‘How much is *one* such hole from another hole⁵?’

‘As much as one step onwards.’

¹ As the step is three feet (see § 15), and the foot, being fourteen finger-breadths (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n), may be taken as 10½ inches, these thirty steps would be nearly 79 English feet.

² That is, 7 feet 10½ inches. This diminution of distance enables a purifying priest to stand near enough to an unclean person to hand him the purifying liquid in a ladle tied to a stick (see §§ 40-42), without going within the furrows traced around the holes or ablu-tion seats at the same distance of three steps (see §§ 21-23).

³ That is, at which the unclean person is sprinkled with the urine (see §§ 48-116). The urine should be that of a bull, according to Vend. XIX, 70; but Vend. VIII, 35, 36 state that it may be that of cattle or draught oxen, generally, or even that of those who perform *Khvêtûk-das* (see p. 391). At the present time the term *magh*, which means ‘a hole’ in the Avesta, is applied to the stones which are used as ablu-tion seats for squatting upon.

⁴ The greater depth of the hole for catching the ablu-tion droppings in the winter, would provide for the larger quantity of liquid that could not sink into the soil, or evaporate, during the tedious washing, owing to the soil and air being damper than in summer.

⁵ The probable positions of these holes, and of the furrows enclosing them, are shown upon the plan of the *Bareshnûm Gâh* on p. 435, which differs but little from the plan still in use.

15. 'What kind of one step?'

'Just like three feet.'

16. 'The cutting out of the three other holes [which are for water], (17) after the coming on of summer, is as much as two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught winter it is as much as four finger-breadths.'

18. 'How much from those former ones [for burine]?'

'As much as three steps.'

19. 'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as the steps one plants in walking with the steps he would take.'

20. 'What kind of walking with steps?'

'Just like nine feet.'

21. 'Thou shalt also plough up a furrow with the blade due to Shatryôvair¹.'

22. 'How much from the holes?'

'As much as three steps.'

'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as in walking with the steps one would take and plant.'

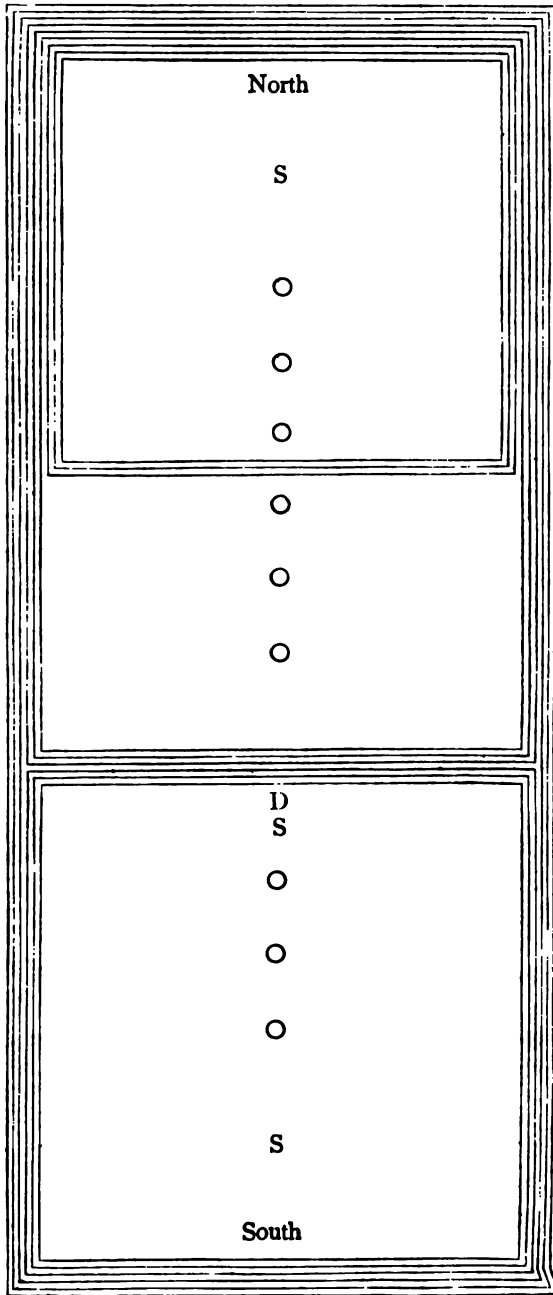
23. 'How much is the walking with steps?'

'As much as nine feet.'

24. 'Then, afterwards, is the ploughing up of twelve furrows. 25. By the ploughing up of three from among them three holes are separated with them. 26. Thou shalt plough up three from among them with six holes separated within. 27. Thou shalt plough up three from among them with nine holes separated within. 28. And thou shalt plough

¹ That is, made of metal, which is under the special protection of the archangel Shatryôvair or Shatvairô (see Dd. XLVIII, 17 r)

PLAN OF BARESHNŪM GĀH.



O, O, O, O, O, six northern holes, for bull's urine, one step apart.
 O, O, O, three southern holes, for water, one step apart and three steps from the others.
 S, S, S, three loads of stones on the three spaces of three steps.
 D, place for collecting fifteen handfuls of dust for drying the body.

up three, within which are the [three] holes that are apart, [which are for water, and] beyond [the] within, which are for bull's urine]¹.

29. 'Thou shalt carry three loads of stones on those spaces of nine feet², as an approach to the holes; (30) or potsherds, or knotty and massive blocks, or a clod of the earth of Vistâsp, or [a pot something of] any hard earth whatever.

31. 'Afterwards, he who *has been* by the defilement shall come to that approach, which is the approach to the holes. 32. Thereupon thou, O Zarathûshtra, hast to stand up more aside, by the furrow

¹ The arrangement, here described, is that of six holes in a row, one step apart; then an interval of three steps, followed by three more holes, one step apart, in the same line. This row of nine holes, from north to south (see § 132, e), is surrounded by the furrows, the first six holes and the last three are both surrounded by a second series of three furrows, and the first three holes are surrounded by a third series of three furrows. And these furrows are not less than three steps from the holes in any place, except where they separate the three series of holes from each other. The object of the furrows, which are scored during the recitation of certain formulas (see § 132, f, g), is to prevent the fiend of corruption from forcing its way from the unclean person within the furrows to any other person outside them. And, as the fiend is supposed to be strongest at first, and to become gradually weakened by the progress of the purification (see § 119), the first three holes are surrounded by the strongest barrier of nine furrows.

² There were three such spaces, one between the furrows and the first hole, one between the sixth and seventh holes, and one between the last hole and the furrows (see the plan). It is not distinctly stated that these stones were to be distributed, as ablution seats, to each of the nine stations, as at present; but this was probably intended. At the present time an additional group of stones is placed outside the furrows, at the entrance to the north as a station for the preliminary washing.

³ That is, the priest is to stand outside, to the right (see § 132, e), but close to the furrows.

33. Then these words are to be murmured [*by thee, that is*]; "Praise to Spendarmad¹, the propitious!"

34. *And* he who *has been* by the dead shall speak in reply to it thus: "Praise to Spendarmad, the propitious!"

35. Then the fiend becomes disabled by every word [of each repetition]; (36) the smiting of the evil spirit, the wicked *one*, is owing to it; (37) the smiting of Aeshm², the impetuous assailant, is owing to it; (38) the smiting of the Mâzinikân demons³ is owing to it; (39) the smiting of all the demons is owing to it.

40. 'Afterwards, thou shalt sprinkle bull's urine upon *him* with an iron, or with a leaden, *ladle*. 41. *If* thou shalt sprinkle upon *him* with a leaden *one*⁴, thou shalt strongly demand, O Zaratûst! the stem of a reed whose nine customary parts (*ptsak*) you have mentioned⁵ [*as nine knots*]; (42) *and one* should tie that leaden *ladle* strongly on *its* foremost part⁶.

43. 'He shall first wash over his hands [even to the elbows]. 44. When he does not wash over his hands, (45) he then makes all his own body impure [*and polluted*]. 46. When he shall have washed over his hands for three times, (47) then, when *thy* hands

¹ See p. 393, note 2. This exclamation is a Pahlavi version of a quotation from the Gâthas (Yas. XLVIII, 10, c).

² The demon of wrath (see Dd. XXXVII, 44).

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 81. This passage (§§ 36-39) is quoted from Yas. XXVII, 2, LVI, xii, 5.

⁴ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, but occur in the Avesta.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'murmured over' with prayers.

⁶ This nine-knotted reed, or stick, must be so long that the ladle, tied to its end, can easily reach the unclean person at the holes, when the stick is held by the priest who stands outside the furrows.

shall have been washed over, (48) thou shalt sprinkle him on the front of the top of his head, [as far as the hair has grown.] 49. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front, upon *some* of the space between the brows of that man.

50. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on *some* of the space between the brows of that man, [from the place where the hair has grown, as far as to the ears backwards, *and* both cheeks at the bottom] 51. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon the back of his head.

52. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on the back of his head [from the place where the hair has grown, casting (stunak) one-fourth to the spine.] 53. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his jaws.

54. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on his jaw [both cheeks as far as to the ears backwards, casting one-fourth unto the throat.] 55. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ear.

56. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ear. 57. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ear.

58. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ear, [just as the ear is turned, casting one-fourth to the liquid]

¹ The Nasûs fiend (see Dd. XVII, 7).

² The word, both here and in § 68, must be Av. âfs, 'water' and not a Pâzand term for any part of the body, as any such term would be inadmissible in § 68. It would seem as if a small supply of liquid were requisite for the ears than for the other customary parts, so that a quarter of the supply is directed to the ears and returned to the vessel holding the liquid. The remarks made by the Pahlavi translator, upon the sprinkling of the left-hand members of the body, are evidently intended also to apply, in nearly all cases, to the sprinkling of the right-hand members.

59. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shoulder.

60. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shoulder.

61. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shoulder.

62. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shoulder, [*on the side in front, just as it is turned, even unto the elbow.*] 63. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right armpit.

64. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right armpit.

65. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left armpit.

66. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left armpit, [*as far as the hair has grown.*] 67. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his chest.

68. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front on his chest, [*half the liquid to the shoulders, and half to the region of the throat, within three finger-breadths of the face¹.*] 69. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his back.

70. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his back, [*from the slender part of the spine unto the anus.*] 71. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right nipple.

72. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right nipple. 73. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left nipple.

74. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left nipple, [*just as the nipple shall be turned; and those of women (zanagânō) are to be held up.*] 75. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right side.

76. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right side. 77. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left side.

¹ Reading *dîmak*, but it may be *gâmak* (compare Pers. *gâm*, 'jaw'). L₄ has *gîmak*.

78. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left side; [this moreover, is because one specially recites for eve on *that* side.] 79. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right hip¹.

80. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right hip. 81. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left hip.

82. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left hip, [just as it is turned, as far as to the hollow² of it (*gûyak-valman*) below the thigh.] 83. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his sexual part.

84. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his sexual part. 85. If it be a male, thou shalt sprinkle behind it before *hand*, and in front of it afterwards; (86) and if it be a female, thou shalt sprinkle in front of it before *hand*, and behind it afterwards; [on this occasion half is for the front and half for behind, and it is rubbed in in front.] 87. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right thigh.

88. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right thigh. 89. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left thigh.

90. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left thigh, [from the prominence (*gôhâk*) below the thigh to the knee.] 91. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right knee.

92. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right knee. 93. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left knee.

¹ Reading *srînak*, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 178-182; but here the word is four times written *sînak*.

² Or, perhaps, 'prominence' is meant, as in § 90; although the two words *gûyak* and *gôhâk* are written differently, they refer probably to the same part.

94. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left knee, [above just as it 'is turned, *and* below the slender *part*; there are *some* who would say thus: "As much above it as below."]

95. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shin.

96. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shin. 97. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shin.

98. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shin, [from the knee unto the place where the leg *and* foot unite.]

99. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ankle¹.

100. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ankle. 101. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ankle.

102. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ankle, [just as the leg *and* foot unite, that is, while the ten toes are back to the ground.]

103. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right instep.

104. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right instep. 105. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left instep.

106. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left instep, [from the place where the leg *and* foot unite, to the end of his toes.]

107. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the sole *of the foot*, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly's body.

108. 'The toes *being* held quite in union with the ground, his heel is held up from the ground. 109. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right sole. 110. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left sole.

¹ The word *zang* means rather 'the lower part of the leg.'

111. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left sole. 112. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the toes, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly.

113. 'The heel *being* held quite in union with the ground, his toes are held up from the ground. 114. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right toes. 115. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left toes.

116. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left toes. 117. Then the fiend of corruption returns dejected to the northern quarter in the shape of a raging fly, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, illimitably spotted, so that spot is joined to spot, like the most tawdry¹ noxious creature, *and* most filthy.

118. 'Then these words are to be murmured, which are most triumphant *and* most healing²:—

'“As is the will of the patron spirit [as is the will of Aûharmazd], so should be the *earthly* master [so should be the high priest], owing to whatever are the duty *and* good works of righteousness; [that is, *he* is always to perform duty and good works as authoritatively as the will of Aûharmazd.] That which is the gift of good thought is the work of both existences [and the work] of Aûharmazd; [that is, the reward *and* recompense they give to good thought, they give also to him; there are *some* who would say thus: 'It is the possession of good thought.']

¹ Reading bôg-âkîntûm, 'most stuffed with ostentation,' as in L4. In AV. XVII, 12 the word can be read basak-âyîntûm, 'most sin-accustomed.'

² Only the initial and final words of the Avesta of the following passages are given in the MSS. here, but they are given at length, with their Pahlavi translation, in Vend. VIII, 49-62, whence the Pahlavi version is here taken.

The sovereignty is given to Aûharmazd, [that is, Aûharmazd has made the ruler for himself,] who *has* given protection *and* nourishment to the poor, [that is, he would provide assistance *and* intercession for them.]¹

“Who is given to me by thee, O Aûharmazd! *as* a protection? [when² I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?]-when I am in custody of the malice of that wicked [Aharman, that is, he retains malice with me in *his* thoughts]-other than thy fire *and* good thought? [this I know, that they would do *so* on account of you; but, apart from you, who would provide me protection?] When in their employ I invoke righteousness, O Aûharmazd! [that is, I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?] That which thou shalt proclaim to me *as* religion through a high-priest [this I say, that is, preach religion through a high-priest]³.

“Who is the smiter with triumph, through this thy teaching of protection? [that is, so *far* as is declared by the revelation of scripture, who should inflict the punishment for sinners?] With clearness the superintendence (*rad1h*) of the creation in both existences is to be taught to me, [that is, it is necessary for thee to give unto me the high-priesthood here *and* there⁴.] The arrival of virtuous obedience (*Srôsh*), with good thought (*Vohûman*), is here,

¹ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see p. 385).

² Reading amat, instead of mûn, ‘who,’ (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the Kêm-nâ-mazdâ stanza of the Gâthas (Yas. XLV, 7).

⁴ Both in this world and the next.

[that is, it is necessary for thee to give Vistâs unto me as assistance.] O Aûharmazd! [the arriv of] that *one* [is according to my wish], who is *according* to the wish of every one, [that Sôshân that shall be necessary for every one, so that th *may* thereby convey away their misery, the misery is possible he should convey away from every one.]

“*Let us be guarded from the most afflicting o* [here, *and* apart from the sinners], O Aûharmazd and Spendarmad⁴! [that is, keep us away from th harm of the evil spirit!] Perish, thou demon fiend [as I speak in front of thee.] Perish, thou race the demons! [that is, their race is from that place. Perish, thou *work* transformed by the demons [f uselessness]! Perish, thou *work* produced by th demons [*heretofore and hereafter!* this produce without the sacred beings, and produced by the (the demons) even for uselessness]. Perish utterly thou fiend! [that is, mayst thou become invisible Perish utterly, thou fiend! [that is, rush away fro here, *and* mayst thou become invisible on any path Perish utterly and apart, thou fiend! [that is, star not again on any path!] Thou shalt perish aga to the north! [the path was mentioned thus: ‘*G in* the direction of the north!’] do not destroy th material world of righteousness⁶!”

¹ The king in the time of Zaratûst (see Dd. XXXVII, 36).

² The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10).

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of a passage in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, b-e).

⁴ See p. 393, note 2.

⁵ From hell, the place of the demons.

⁶ It appears from what follows, in § 120, that the whole of the sprinklings and exorcisms, detailed in §§ 33-118, are to be repeated at each of the first six holes.

119. 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the *fiend* of corruption, [that is, it shall depart a little from his body, like a flock when they disperse it.]

120. 'Then these words are to be murmured by thee, &c. [as in §§ 33-118. At] the second [hole, &c., as in § 119. And the same routine is to be followed at] the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth [holes]¹.

'Afterwards he shall sit—he who *has been* by the dead—within the precinct (*sitrâ*) of the holes² apart from those holes [which are for bull's urine]. 121. So much from that [of the previous *ones* for bull's urine] as four finger-breadths³. 122. They shall also dig up those full diggings up of this earth, [they should accomplish this well.] 123. They shall scrape together fifteen handfuls of the earth, [so that they shall quite dislodge the damp purely.]⁴ 124. And they shall remain about it the whole *period* from that *time* until *the time* when the hair on his head shall become dry, (125) and until *the time* when the wet earth on his body shall become dry.

126. 'Then he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach to those other holes [which are for water]. 127. At the first hole he shall then purify over his own body once with water. 128. At the second hole he shall then purify over his own

¹ This paragraph is omitted in the Pahlavi text, being merely given in the Avesta (for the sake of brevity) so far as the words are not included in the brackets.

² The three holes for washing with water.

³ That is, three English inches south of the six furrows which separate the first six holes from the last three, at the point D on the plan.

⁴ That is, the person undergoing purification shall be rubbed with dust until he is quite dry.

body twice with water. 129. At the third hole I shall then purify over his own body thrice with water.

130. 'Afterwards, he who is perfumed with sandal-wood (râsnö)¹, or benzoin, or aloes², or any other of the most odoriferous of plants, (131) shall then put on *his* clothes. 132. Then he who *has been* the dead shall come to that approach, the approach to *his* abode³.'

[a. The clothing is always *cleansed* by the Kshvash-maunghô ("the six-months' process")⁴.

b. Afarg⁵ said two purifiers are requisite⁶, and the two he is suitable who has performed the ritual thus they have been very unanimous; when I scores the furrow, washes that *unclean person* in the customary *places*, and utters the Avesta he has performed it; the other, when he has not performed

¹ Av. urvâsna (which is translated by Pahl. râsnö) is supposed in India, to mean sandal-wood.

² These are supposed, in India, to be the two substances mentioned by the Av. vohû-gaona and vohû-kereti, which are merely transcribed by the Pahl. hû-gôn and hû-keret. The Avesta text adds a fourth perfume, named hadhâ naêpata, which is understood to mean the pomegranate bush, although that plant seems to yield no perfume.

³ For the continuation of the instructions see § 133; the text being here interrupted by a long Pahlavi commentary on the whole of the foregoing description of the ceremony.

⁴ This sentence is evidently incomplete in the Pahlavi text. The process is thus described in Pahl. Vend. VII, 36:—'If it that *it* is woven, they shall wash *it* over six times with bull's urine they shall scrape together six times on the earth *with it* [so that they quite dislodge its moisture purely], they shall wash *it* over six times with water, *and* they shall perfume over *it* six months a window in the house.' For the Avesta version of this description, which is nearly the same, see Sls. II, 95 n.

⁵ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁶ See Ep. I, vi, 4, II, ii, 7.

is unsuitable; when *there* shall also be one who is suitable¹ he fully solemnizes a Vendidâd *service*, for this purpose, with a dedication (shnumanō) to Srôsh.

c. For every single person, at the least, one cup, alike of water and bull's urine, is to be set down *in* that place², and at the beginning of its consecration *it* is to be thoroughly inspected, and at the Vendidâd *it* is to be thoroughly inspected³; afterwards, when it is covered, *it* is also well; the pebbles cast into *it*⁴ they should carry back to the holy-water, there is no use *for them*; when thoroughly consecrated it is always suitable, until it becomes quite fetid⁵.

d. For the avoidance of an unsecluded (agûbâl) menstruous *woman* nava vibâzva drâgô ('the length of nine fathoms')⁶ from her is necessary, when she stands nearest; in a wild spot the herbage is to be dug up⁷; when they shall make *the purifying place* in the town, and a path, or a stream, or a wall does not extend into it, it is suitable; and the cleanly plucking up of its small trees, extracting *them* in the daytime with *recitation of* the Avesta of Zaratûst⁸—those which are thick not existing among the holes—is proper.

e. And every one who digs the holes, with whatever he digs, *and* whenever he digs, is suitable; four finger-breadths and two finger-breadths⁹ is no matter;

¹ See Ep. I, vi, 7.

² See Ep. I, vii, 1.

³ L4 has '*it* is to be taken up,' by omitting the first letter of nikîrisnō.

⁴ See Ep. I, vii, 16, II, iii, 12.

⁵ See Ep. I, viii, 1-6.

⁶ See § 8.

⁷ See § 7.

⁸ These twelve words do not occur in L4.

⁹ See § 13.

each hole is at a minimum *distance* of three feet¹, a maximum as much as *one* thoroughly purifies the body in; and *they* are to be formed in it from the north, and are to be dug in the direction towards the more southern side.

f. In the *daytime* is the purifier's scoring of the furrows, and with a blade *they* are to be scored; with *the recital* of the Avesta² *they* are to be scored; the day *they* are to be scored³; in that day *they* are to be scored, when a furrow is scored, three Ashêvohûs⁴, the Fravarânê⁵, whatever period of the day *one* considers *it to be*, the dedication to Srôsh⁶, and its *inward* prayer⁷ are to be taken up *inwardly*.

g. *It* is also to be done inside it from the north and its end is to be passed back at the end; for every single furrow *there* is one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô at the least, and at the most as many as are possible for it; a furrow is not to be scored again for a furrow, until *it* is to be put into use; whenever *it* is fully disturbed *it* is to be scored again with the *recital* of its Avesta; when prepared for use and *it* scores *it* again it is no matter.

¹ See §§ 14, 15.

² The Ahunavar or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see § *g*).

³ So in L4.

⁴ See Dd. LXXIX, 1, note.

⁵ That is, the profession of faith (Yas. I, 65), which is as follows:—'I will profess myself a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper opposed to the demons and of the Ahura faith.' This is followed by the dedication to the period of the day, which is given for the first period only in Yas. I, 66, 67; the dedications for the other periods will be found in Gâh II-V, 1.

⁶ Sir. I, 17.

⁷ See Dd. XL, 5, note. All the prayers here detailed are to be murmured merely as a preliminary spell, but while each furrow is being scored a further formula is to be recited (see § *g*).

⁸ See pp. 385-386.

h. Once the outside of the body is to be made quite clean from the bodily refuse¹ of the world; and the hair *being* tied up—it is no use to cut the pubes (nihânö)—*he* is also to be brought into it (the precinct) from the north to the holes.

i. The purifier stands up on the right-hand side, and when he retains the *inward* prayer from scoring the furrows² it is proper; when not, the prayer to be taken *inwardly* by him—which is his utterance of Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis izâkâ ('and the homage which is devotion and nourishment')³—is also that which is to be uttered *by the unclean person*; and when *he* is not able to speak, *it* is both times to be uttered for *him*.

j. And his hands are to be thoroughly washed three times, not in the inside; *as to* the other customary *parts* (pîsak) Afarg *has* said three times, not in the inside, *but* Mêdyôk-mâh⁴ one time; also the water *and* bull's urine, such as are necessary for him, are to be conveyed on to him; and a portion (bah-rak) is to be preserved for him *away* from the body, *and*, when anything comes upon him, a little bull's urine is to be dropped down upon him; likewise,

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n.

² That is, when he has not broken its spell by talking, since he began the scoring.

³ These are the Avesta words from Yas. XLVIII, 10, c, of which the Pahlavi version is given in §§ 33, 34.

⁴ Written Mêdyôk-mâh in Ep. I, v, 1. The statement here attributed to Mêdyôk-mâh is ascribed to Afarg in Ep. I, vi, 7, 9, II, ii, 6, but Afarg is there said to be 'the prior deponent,' as he is here; we should, therefore, probably transpose the 'three times' and 'one time' in our text; the blunder having originated from the frequent substitution of hanâ for aê in Pahlavi, both meaning 'this,' while aê also means 'one' and is the cipher for '3.'

any customary *part*, while *being* washed by him, is be preserved from that which is not washed; when it comes upon it, it is improper.

k. When a drop of water (*âv yûgakö-1*) shall remain upon *him*, *his* hand is to be thoroughly rubbed over it; when at the same hole and becomes doubtful as to a customary *part*¹, when he knows *which*, *it* is to be washed by him again, and from that onwards *they* are always to be washed again by him; when he does not know *which*, at the beginning of *the washing* at the hole is to be done again by him, and when he comes unto that which *he did* before, when he knows *it*, *he* is also to be washed again to that after it, from his doing again of the beginning of *the washing* at the hole; when he becomes doubtful as to the hole, he is to go back to that which is not doubtful.

l. And when they go from hole to hole, the dog is to be held once, the Avesta³ of the purifier is to be spoken, and it is to be done by him thus:—When he arrives at the place, *it* is done by him; when near the head is to be done thoroughly—there are *so* many who would say thus: ‘In the same hole the head is to be done thoroughly’—and all four feet of the dog are to be put by him into the hole; he is also to be held down within four finger-breadths⁴, and the Pankada zemô hankanayen (‘fifteen *times* of earth they shall

¹ That is, when he is doubtful which he washed last.

² The dog is not mentioned in the Avesta account of the Bare nûm in Vend. IX, but it is ordered to be brought before the unclean person in another such account in Vend. VIII, 120, 123. The use of the dog is that its sight or touch is supposed to destroy or drive away the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption.

³ The exorcism in §. 118.

⁴ See § 121.

scrape together')¹ are to be well completed by him, *it* is also to be thoroughly done by him, and *he* is to be fully guarded while he properly *and* thoroughly well perseveres.

m. And, after it, he is to go unto the holes for water; the different times with water are just like the different holes for bull's urine, except holding the dog; the dog, too, works for *him* inside.

n. When he seeks for it, *it*² is to be thoroughly warmed *for* him; when he hungers for it, bread is to be given to him; when *the necessity* of making water arises, something is to be held unto him; when, on account of his imperfect strength (*vad zôrîh*), *he* is quite unable to wash, some one is to sit down inside with him; when *he* is only just³ washed, *he* is to come into his position therein before, the *inward* prayer is to be spoken out by him, and the *inward* prayer is to be again offered by him, his customary *parts* are also washed, and are to be considered as washed.

o. When he shall keep on for three washings⁴, though not clean, it is not improper; when he does not attain three washings, it is not proper; when the enclosure is not to be formed to the north⁵, it is not proper; when *one* shall not solemnize the *Vendîdâd service*⁶, it is not proper.

p. When the purifier shall not have performed the ritual, it is not proper; when the purifier is not a man, it is not proper.

¹ The Avesta version of § 123.

² The water, apparently.

³ Perhaps it should be *kand tâk*, 'several times,' instead of *kîgûn tâk*, 'only just.'

⁴ See §§ 136, 140, 144.

⁵ See § *e*.

⁶ See § *ð*.

q. When he shall not wash on the custom *parts*, it is not proper; when he does not use the Avesta, it is not proper; and when the dog is not held, it is not proper; when *there* is no digging of the holes, it is not proper; when he does not perform the Pankadasa zemô hankanayen ('fift times of earth they shall scrape together')², it is not proper.

r. When *it* is not the purifier *who* scores furrows, *and* he does not score *them* with a blade, nor does he score *them* with *the* recitation of Avesta, nor does he score *them* in the daytime, it is not proper.

s. When he shall see *anything* impure in the hole, it is not proper; when they shall cause rain to come within a hole for bull's urine, it is not proper; when night shall come in upon him, it is not proper; when in everything *there* is suitableness, but as one thing doubt arises, through that suitableness is not proper.]

133. 'He⁴ is to sit down in the place of secluded (armêstânô)⁵, within the precinct (sit) of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 134. He shall not come with authorization to fire, nor to water, nor to earth, nor to animals, nor to plants, nor to a righteous man, nor to a righteous

¹ See § 7.

² See § 123.

³ See § 124.

⁴ He who has been by the dead, as stated in § 132, in connection with which this sentence is to be read; the foregoing §§ being interpolated by the Pahlavi translators.

⁵ The original meaning of armêst was probably 'most solitary,' as it is a term applied to water in tanks, helpless cripples and insane people, as well as to unclean persons who have to remain apart from their friends (see Sls. II, 98 n).

woman, (135) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his three nights shall fully elapse.

136. 'After those three nights he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 137. He shall sit in the place of the secluded, within the precinct of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 138. He shall not come with authorization to fire, &c. [just as *has been* written in § 134], (139) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his six nights shall fully elapse.

140. 'After those six nights¹ he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 141-143. He shall sit in the place of the secluded [just as *has been* written in §§ 133-135] until *the time* when *his* nine nights shall fully elapse.

144. 'Then, after the nine nights, he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 145. Then he shall come with authorization unto fire, unto water, unto earth, unto animals, unto plants, unto a righteous man, unto a righteous woman.'

Besides the above fully detailed description of the Bareshnŭm ceremony we find two other accounts of the rite, in the Vendidād. Of these the most detailed is contained in Vend. VIII, 117-228, which mentions the use of the dog², the nine holes, the washing with bull's urine and water, and all the

¹ The MSS. omit several words, when sentences are repeated, for the sake of brevity.

² See § 1 above.

detail of driving the fiend of corruption from one part of the body to another (by sprinkling with 'good waters') till it flies away to the north as Vend. IX, 117. But it omits the description of the purifier, the dimensions of the purifying place, the scoring of the furrows, the placing of the stones, the exorcism¹, the seclusion for nine nights, and the washings after the first day.

The other account, which is much shorter, is given in Vend. XIX, 67-84. It specifies that the urine must be that of a young bull, and that the purifier must score a furrow; it mentions the recitation of a hundred Ashem-vohûs and two hundred Yathâ-alvairyôs, four washings with bull's urine and three with water, nine nights' exposure, followed by attention to the fire and fumigation, when the man clothes himself while paying homage to the sacred beings, and is clean; but no other details are given.

¹ That is, the exorcism is not found in the Pahlavi version, but is introduced in the *Vendidâd sâdah* in an abbreviated form, possibly copied from Vend. IX, 118.

V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE controversy between Mânûsŝthar and his brother, Zâd-sparam, of which the Epistles of Mânûsŝthar are the only portion extant, turned chiefly upon the meaning to be attached to Vend. VIII, 271-299¹, and whether the mode of purification therein detailed was a sufficient substitute, or merely a preparation, for the Bareshnûm ceremony. The following is a translation of the Pahlavi version of this passage²:—

Pahl. Vend. VIII, 271. 'O creator! how are those men purified, O righteous Aûhar Mazda! who shall stand by a corpse, in a distant place, upon a wild spot³?'

272. And Aûhar Mazda spoke thus: 'They are purified, O righteous Zaratûst!'

273. 'But when so? [that is, how will *such a one* become clean?]'

274. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* attacked that corpse, (275) *the man* shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, (276) thirty times by washing forwards [*with* the bull's urine], *and* thirty times by washing over⁴, [and

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. iv, pp. 116-118.

² Subject to the same observations as those detailed in p. 431 n.

³ Reading pavan vaskar, but the MSS., by omitting a stroke, have pavan sikar, 'on the chase.'

⁴ So here, but 'washing backwards' in § 279; and in Ep. II, iv, 2 we find 'upwards' and 'downwards,' instead of 'forwards' and 'backwards.' The Pahlavi translators were evidently doubtful whether the Av. upasnâteê (see Ep. II, iii, 2) meant 'washing over, backwards, or downwards.'

his hand shall rub over it.] 277. Of the topmost *part* of him is the washing over, [that is, the washing of his head is that regarding which *there* is a mention through this study-causing (hûshka) exclamation.]¹

278. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* not attacked that corpse, (279) *he shall purify* fifteen times by washing forwards, and fifteen times by washing backwards, [and *his* hand shall rub over it.]

280. 'He shall run the first mile (hâsar)². 281. He shall then run forwards, [when the Fankadas ("fifteen times") shall be performed by him.] 282. *And* when he shall thus stop opposite any one whomsoever of the material existence³, he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (283) thus⁴: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible for me *to be* as *though* washed.] 284. I demand purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 285. When he runs, the first he shall reach, (286) if they do not grant him purification, he shall share one-third of that deed of his, [that is, of all the sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, one *part* in three in theirs at *its* origin.]

287. 'He runs the second mile [while he runs for

¹ Implying that the Pahlavi translators had found the use of Av. aghrya for 'head' rather perplexing.

² The hâsar was 'a thousand steps of the two feet' (see Bâ XXVI, 1, note), and was, therefore, about an English mile.

³ That is, any human being.

⁴ See Ep. I, ii, 10.

it]. 288. He runs, *and* a second time he reaches *people*. 289. If they do not grant him purification, (290) they share a half¹ of that deed of his, [that is, of all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, as *it were* a half is even for them at *its* origin.]

291. 'He shall run the third mile [while he runs for *it*]. 292. When he runs, the third he shall reach, (293) if they do not grant him purification, share all² that deed of his, [that is, all that sin which *it* is not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, is ever *theirs* at *its* origin.]

294. 'He shall then run forwards³. 295. He shall thus stop opposite *some people* of the next house, village, tribe, *or* district, *and* he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (296) thus: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; (297) I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible *to bear* without washing.] 298. It demands purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 299. If they do not grant him purification, he shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, *and* also with water; thus he shall be thoroughly purified over⁴.'

[*a*. He shall go three miles; it is not allowable to walk back to *his* district, until he *has* fully striven

¹ That is, half of the two-thirds remaining with him, or one-third of the whole original trespass.

² That is, all the remaining one-third of the original trespass.

³ See Ep. II, iii, 3.

⁴ What follows is a commentary, by the Pahlavi translators, on the whole passage.

with three persons, and all that sin, not possible him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *purification*, is theirs at *its* origin.

b. When thus thoroughly washed by himself his duty even then is the work *frakairi frake naod, vâstrê verezyôid* ('he should accomplish with perseverance, he should cultivate in the pictures¹'); there are *some* who would say thus: 'He who is always for the performance of work, and abstines from the ceremonies of others is for him².']

¹ Quoted from Vend. XIX, 140, where the words 'sheep's food and food for oxen' are added.

² A person so purified by himself, after vainly seeking a purifier, is, therefore, only fit for the ordinary labours of life, must avoid all religious celebrations till properly purified by Bareshnûm ceremony. This was the opinion of Mânûsêihar, it is based upon a Pahlavi commentary, and not upon the Avesta text, which is not clear upon this point.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction and appendix, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers, or by roman type.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses, when the reference is not the first one.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the reference to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pâzand forms are printed in italics, as their orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters which would elsewhere be italic are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Ap. for Appendix; AV. for *Arđâ-Vîrâf*; Av. for Avesta word; Byt. for Bahman Yast; com. for commentator; Cor. for Corrections; Dd. for *Dâdistân-î-Dînîk*; Dk. for *Dînkard*; D. for Doctor; Ep. for Epistle; ins. for inscription; lun. man. for luna mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; Mkh. for *Mainyô-Khard*; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pers. for Persian; Prof. for Professor; r. for river; Riv. for *Rivâyat*; Sans. for Sanskrit word; trans. for translation; Vend. for *Vendidâd*; Visp. for *Visparad*; Yas. for *Yasna*.

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- Yôstô, chief, Dd. 90, 3, 8 n; Ap. 411 n.
- Yûdân-Yim, priest, Int. 13; Dd. 0; 1, 1; 94, 13; Ep. I, o, iii, 10, vii, 5, xi, 12; II, o, ix, 12; III, o, 1, 2, 21.
- Zâd-sparam, priest, Int. 13-16, 19, 25-27; Ep. I, o, i, 2 n, ii, 6 n, iv, 7 n, 8 n, v, 1 n, 5 n, 7 n, x, 3 n, 13 n, xi, 3 n, 10 n; II, o, i, 2 n, 7 n, 12 n, ii, 1 n, v, 3 n, 14 n, vii, 2 n, ix, 8 n; III, 2, 17; Ap. 394, 455.
- Zâirik, demon, Dd. 37, 52; Ep. I, x, 9.
- Zand, Dd. 1, 7; 45, (2) 66, 1, 3; Ep. I, iv, 11; II, iii, 14 n, ix, 10.
- Zaratûst, apostle, Dd. 1, 23 n; 2, (10,) 11 n, 12; 4, 6; 48, 16, 30; 94, 14; Ep. II, i, 14, v, 11; Ap. 369, 386, 410, 444 n; addressed by evil spirit, Dd. 72, 5 n; Avesta of, Ap. 447; blessed (*yastô-fravâhar*), Dd. 48, 30; his early home, Dd. 21, 2 n; his origin, Dd. 48, 16; law of, Ep. II, iv, 1, 2; perfect (*pâshûm*), Ep. II, ix, 15; III, 23; preaches, Ap. 412, 413; righteous, Dd. 37, 36; sees Keresâsp, Ap. 371-373, 379-381; slain, Dd. 72, 8 n; talks with *Aûhar-mazd*, Dd. 7, 7; Ep. I, iii, 8, vii, 10-12; II, i, 10; Ap. 381, 415-417, 419-423, 431, 436, 437, 455; the *Spitamân*, Dd. 4, 4; 19, 3; 36, (2) 37, 43; 39, 19, 23; 94, 14; Ep. I, iv, 3, x, 9; II, vi, 2, ix, 14; III, 22; Ap. 379, 380 n, 432.
- supreme, Ep. I, iv, 11.
- the club-footed, priest, Int. 26; Ep. II, i, 13.
- Zaremÿâ, month, Int. 24; Dd. 31, 14.
- Zarmân, demon, Dd. 37, 44, 52.
- Zindah-ravân rites, Dd. 81, 1 n.
- Zôr, see Holy-water.
- Zoroastrian religion, Int. 14.
- Zoroastrians, Int. 14.
- Zôtô, see Priest, officiating.

CORRECTIONS.

- P. 66, line 15; p. 67, l. 7; for 'Mitrô' read 'Mitrô.'
- P. 108, lines 1, 3, for 'the *Supreme* Being' and 'the Being' read 'God (yêdatô),' and cancel note 1.
- P. 109, note 2, add 'Malkôs has also been read Markûs and traced to Av. mahrkûrô (see Fragment VIII, 2 in Westergaard's *Zend-Avesta*, p. 334), which appears to be the title of some demon, regarding whom very little can be ascertained from the text that mentions him.'
- P. 143, l. 12; 145, l. 6; 150, note 6; 252, l. 6; 289, note 2; 318, ll. 26, 27; 346, l. 24; for 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô' read 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô.'

The following emendations depend upon the meaning to be attached to the word vâspôharak, or vâspûharak, which in Mkh. I, 7 was traced to Pers. bâ, 'with,' and sipîhrah, 'sphere, world, universe,' and supposed to mean 'world-renowned,' being rendered by vikhyâtimat in Sanskrit. The objections to this etymology are that Pers. bâ is Pahl. aṇâk (not vâ), which is nearly always replaced by Huz. levatman, and that vâspûhar appears to be the correct form of the word vaspûr, which explains the Huz. barbêtâ, literally 'son of the house' in the Pahlavi Farhang (p. 9, ed. H.); the latter word having been the highest title of the Persian nobility, probably confined to the heads of seven families (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 71, 501). Such nobles are called barbêtân in the Hâ-gîâbâd inscription, line 6, and vâspûharakan in the Naq-i Rustam inscription, line 6; they may perhaps be styled 'princes,' and their title, vâspûhar, may be traced to the ancient Persian equivalent of Av. vîsô puthra (*Vend.* VII, 114), literally 'son of the village or borough.' It may be noted, however, that the word 'sphere' does really occur in a form very similar to this title, in the word aspiharakânîkîhâ, 'as regards the spheres,' in Dd. 60, 4.

- P. 78, ll. 11-13, read 'But those who are the more princely (vâspûharakânîktar) producers of the renovation are said to be seven . . .'
- P. 91, ll. 11, 12, read ' . . . and he made the princes (vâspûharakânîhâ) contented.'

OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Fehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	Gutturales.									
1 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𑀘	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𑀙	𑀆	𑀆	𑀆	𑀆	kh
3 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𑀚	𑀇	𑀇	𑀇	𑀇	. . . . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𑀛	𑀈	𑀈	𑀈	𑀈	. . . . .
5 Gutturale-labialis	q	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𑀜	𑀉	𑀉	𑀉	𑀉	. . . . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	ञ	{ 𑀝 (ng) 𑀞 (N) 𑀟 (ng/hv)	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𑀠	𑀊	𑀊	𑀊	𑀊	h, hs
8 " lenis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
11 " asper fricatus	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	च	𑀡	𑀋	𑀋	𑀋	𑀋	k
14 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	छ	𑀢	𑀌	𑀌	𑀌	𑀌	kh
15 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ज	𑀣	𑀍	𑀍	𑀍	𑀍	. . . . .
16 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	झ	𑀤	𑀎	𑀎	𑀎	𑀎	. . . . .
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . . . .	. . . . .	ञ	𑀥	𑀏	𑀏	𑀏	𑀏	. . . . .

CONSONANTS (enumerated).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Fehl. v.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬶	و	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)			𐬶					
20 " lenis		(y)			𐬶					
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬶	س	ش	ش		
22 " lenis assibilatus		z			𐬶	ز	ز	ز		z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬵	ت		ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬵	ث		ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬵	د		د		
27 " aspirata	dh				𐬵	ذ		ذ		
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬵	ن		ن		n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬵	ل		ل		l
31 " mollis 1		l			𐬵	ل		ل		
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬵	س		س	ס	s

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis	f	پ	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
39 " aspirata	th	ث	ط	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
40 Media	d	ذ	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض
41 " aspirata	dh	ذھ	ضھ	ضھ	ضھ	ضھ	ضھ	ضھ	ضھ
42 Nasalis	n	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن
43 Semivocalis	r	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
44 " fricata	r	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
45 " diacritica	r	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
46 Spiritus asper	sh	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش
47 " lenis	zh	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ

Labiales.

48 Tenuis	p	پ	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
49 " aspirata	ph	پھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ
50 Media	b	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
51 " aspirata	bh	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ	بھ
52 Tenuissima	p	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ	پ
53 Nasalis	m	م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م
54 Semivocalis	w	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و
55 " aspirata	hw	ھو	ھو	ھو	ھو	ھو	ھو	ھو	ھو
56 Spiritus asper	f	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
57 " lenis	v	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و
58 Anusvāra	m	م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م
59 Visarga	h	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ



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